

INSIDE: The growing menace of the Gulf War

Maclean's

MAY 28, 1984

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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Chrétien Pursues the Undecided

**His struggle to
overcome the
capability gap**

**Why front-runner
John Turner dreads
another major fumble**

**The strategies
of the also-rans**

**Liberal leadership
candidate
Jean Chrétien**



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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

MAY 25, 1984 VOL. 97 NO. 22

COVER

In pursuit of the undecided

The fight for Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's seat is now a showdown between John Turner and Jean Chrétien. Chrétien is running on an unbroken appeal to the heart as he calls on old loyalties. But as he tries to win over 1,000 uncommitted Liberal delegates, there are doubts about his ability to rebut criticism that he cannot fill the top job. —Page 22

COVER PHOTO: TONY CRONIN



A glittering occasion

She feared that illness might prevent her from taking office, but with suitable pomp, Jeanne Sauvé became Canada's first woman Governor General. —Page 18



Discount long distance

Two spartan Vancouver companies have begun a cut-rate long-distance service for U.S.-bound calls. And for good reason, the phone giants are worried. —Page 42



Iran's ominous reprisal

In the wake of Iranian and Iraqi air attacks on oil tankers in the Persian Gulf, fear spread in the West of a new oil shortage and a consequent rise in prices. —Page 26



The spaceman's new orbit

Former Expo pitcher Bill Lee keeps his fastball in shape playing in New Brunswick—and his reputation as a character alive in his new autobiography. —Page 60

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Ironie justice

How ironic that I received your April 30, 1984, edition with the cover story on Supreme Court Chief Justice Brian Dickson (*The new face of the law*) on the day that his court ruled against New Brunswick and Labrador in the matter of the Quebec-Newfoundland contrast involving power from Churchill Falls. How ironic that the man you describe as "a defender of the people" heads a court that rules against a people who are already trying to survive on the lowest per capita income in Canada, a people who are already burdened with the highest personal taxes and retail sales tax in Canada; a people suffering in the grip of a 20-per-cent unemployment rate, a people who, more and more, see themselves as the descendants of Confederation.

—R. K. KROGER
Happy Valley, Labrador



Dickson: defender of the people?

from their homes and farms and driven into overcrowded concentration camps on barren midwest, blacks are stripped of their citizenship and made slaves in their own country.

—RAYMOND C. NOYES
Ottawa

Exiles in their own land?

Your article on Nelson Mandela and other political detainees in South Africa (4, column 1) and your follow-up, (May 14) revealed a disturbing perspective on the part of *Madness*. The rationale for enforced resettlement was glossed over as "an attempt to blunt revolutionary forces." The phrase overlooks the appalling infant mortality, crushing social dislocation and economic warfare waged by the white regime—sundering families and communities to create chaos, deny labour and to kill the spirit of dissenters. It also ignores the utter disenfranchisement of the majority through the black homelands policy. Forcefully removed

PASSAGES

DEED Gordon Sinclair, 63, renowned Canadian broadcaster and writer, of neurofibrosis following a heart attack, in Toronto (page 50).

AWARDED A silver medal of honor, the Quebec national assembly's highest distinction, to sergeant-at-arms Ronald Lafram, 63. On May 6 Lafram, a retired Canadian Armed Forces major, single-handedly convinced a man with a sub-machine-gun to surrender to police after he had killed three people and wounded 13 others during an attack on the assembly. Last week police charged Denis Lortie, 25, with eight charges of attempted murder in addition to the three murder charges laid on May 9.

APPOINTED Ron Dryden, former all-star goalie with the Montreal Canadiens, as the province of Ontario's first youth commissioner responsible for coordinating youth employment programs and developing new job policies. Said Ontario Treasurer Larry Grossman: "We were delighted to lend our first draft choice."

DEED Irwin Shaw, 71, U.S.-born author and playwright, of a heart attack, in Davos, Switzerland. A prolific writer whose plots manifested a concern with war and violence, Shaw was best known for *The Young Lions* (1948), his definitive novel about American soldiers returning home after the Second World War, and *Rich Man, Poor Man*, a saga of an American family that was later made into a highly popular television mini-series.

DEVELOPS an appeal by Rev. Sun Myung Moon, 64, Korean-born founder of the Unification Church, to have the United States Supreme Court reverse a federal jury's previous conviction of Moon for income tax fraud. After a six-week trial in 1983 a jury in New York found Moon guilty of failing to pay taxes on \$162,000 (U.S.) income. (22) Judge Gerard Goettel sentenced him to 18 months in jail.

DEED Walter Rausch, 77, one of the last remaining notorious Nazi war criminals, of a heart attack, in Stuttgart, Clark. Since 1963 the West German government had attempted to extradite the former SS colonel, whom they accused of murdering at least 97,000 East Europeans—most of them Jews—during the Second World War. "War crimes investigations claim that Rausch was directly responsible for the development of the so-called Black Ravens, converted Swiss-made trucks used to kill Jews by asphyxiating them with exhaust fumes."

An arm's-length answer

Liberal leadership candidate Jean Robarts' inattention to the question of arms manufacturing clearly demonstrates that he is more concerned with the political ramifications of the issue than with the morality of Canada's participation in the arms race (*The expectations of John Roberts, Canada, May 7*). Profoundly lacking in moral and ethical weaponry for other countries hardly enhances Canada's view of itself as a peacekeeper. Robarts' lack of leadership in a vital and controversial issue is appalling.

—TED HARRISON
Richmond, Ont.

A most expensive sermon

After reading *Politics and profits* on the paper fold (Religion, April 16) I believe the time is appropriate for a taxpayers' revolt against the federal and provincial governments' priorities on how our tax dollars will be spent. I protest against any part of my income tax being spent on a vote by the Pope or any other religious leader. A telephone call to the local my church and my suggestion that this topic was not brought up for discussion in the House of Commons. For a man who professes to be on the side of the poor and preaches against poverty, it is unconscionable that the Pope can endorse the cost of \$28 million on such a tour.

—ROBERTA MARTIN
Tweed, B.C.

Prolonging the agony

Regarding the article *A rough ride for de Havilland* (*Business/Industry*, April 23), trying to save de Havilland is like trying to hold water out of a sinking ship—you only prolong the agony of a disastrous situation. No matter how much money the government pours into de Havilland, the chances of the airplane manufacturer ever paying off its huge deficit is slim. The demand for the de Havilland aircraft is simply not there, or at least not at the price they want. I sympathize with the 2,800 workers, whose jobs are on the line, but to keep pouring millions of dollars into the floundering industry is a waste of the taxpayers' dollars.

—CHUCK MUNKACSI
Acton, Ont.

The refuge of scoundrels?

I applaud Dan Cohen's April 23 column, *Making the hardest choices*. As a recently transplanted Albertian to British Columbia, perhaps my objectivity is still in place. But there is a place in which the attitude of *scoundrelism* abounds. As a broadcast journalist I find that makes for cutting copy, but often there seems to be a deliberate at-

titude of confrontation. Additionally, one segment of the population, in this case the trade union movement, has been singled out for a harshish Cohen in right. There are unimpeachable grounds about the dismal wisdom of the whole Expo 86 affair. These questions should be answered, but the public refusal of having the event approved seems to have shifted the public thrust for an immediate airing of the facts, positive or negative. But take courage. The public is able to cope with reality. Let the moneybags be held to account for their restraint or lack of it. Manipulation of

antennae to cloud legitimate public scrutiny is, like painkillers, often the refuge of scoundrels.

—DORIS M. MATHES
Crestbrook, B.C.

Khadafi: a boy scout?

Compared to what has been going on in 20 U.S. client states since the past 30 years, Col. Muammar Khadafi comes through as something of a boy scout (*The measure of terrorism, World/Special Report, April 30*). The highest figure the CIA can come up with when listing victims of international terror is under 4,000. In

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"I don't know."

"I guess not."

"What do you mean?"

"I can taste the rum."

A guy from 1,000 miles away.

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NOTICE

Blue Cross "Pay Direct" Non-Group Coverage Available To All Ontario Residents Until June 15, 1984.

Blue Cross announces that it is making available to all Ontario residents during the period May 1 to June 15, 1984, a wide range of health benefits not included in the government sponsored Ontario Health Insurance Plan (OHIP).

Between May 1 and June 15, 1984, any Ontario resident, regardless of age or previous medical history can purchase Blue Cross coverage on a "pay-direct" basis for the major portion of the cost of such benefits as

- prescription drugs
- private duty registered nursing
- use of semi-private and private room in hospital, and others.

Ontario Blue Cross is a private, non-government organization.

If extra health coverage is not available to you through your place of employment, consider this Blue Cross "pay direct" opening.

Detailed brochure/application forms are available at the "info-centre" at most Ontario supermarkets, shopping malls, at regional offices of the provincial Ministry of Northern Affairs, or by writing

1984 Pay Direct Opening
Blue Cross
150 Ferrand Drive
Don Mills, Ontario
M3C 1H6

or by phoning (416) 445-5747 collect.



1975 Henry Kissinger and James Schlesinger gave the tacit nod to Indonesia, a U.S. client state, to annex East Timor, where Portuguese colonial rule ended there. Since then, U.S.-supplied gun ships and other weaponry have massed as many as 200,000 peasants for having had the effrontery to try and organize their own co-operative. Gen. Aspinari Paschoal had more than 4000 Chinese murdered in the first few hours following the 1979 coup so well watermarked by the CIA. That was just for starters; the overall estimate has passed the 20,000 mark.

—W. J. GREGG, *Calgary*

Israel's right to exist

The opinions expressed by the alleged "Maoist" Ben-Gurion (liberalism and solutions, Letters, April 30) make evident why a pseudonym was used: they reveal a self-ignorance of the social and political reality in Israel. Even "aggressors" such as Haganah's Begin offered a "peace alternative" but still the daily distortions and terrorist recognize Israel's right to exist in peace within secure borders. Israel will be forced to continue budgeting 30 per cent of spending to defense. If the democratic government of Israel could spend a more normal seven to 10 per cent on defense, there would be plenty of money available to alleviate social ills and economic disparities. Such problems are not policy of Labor or Likud—they are a sad reality of trying to survive in a region dominated by despots such as Moslem Arab Rabbis.

—MARKET INDICATOR, *Windsor*

Out of left field

Those of us who support the NDP are hoping that Macdon's skill in prophecy corresponds to its accuracy when it comes to historical fact. (The NDP's skill for survival, Canada/Gover, April 30). The idea that the western progressive movement and party became Conservative will surely say student of the error of Macdon's Klag, who swallowed the party and its leaders both T.A. Gower and Robert Forke became NDP ministers. The Party domination of the Prairie political scene did not happen until 1968.

—O. GERALD HARRIS, *Haliburton, N.S.*

For those of us in Socialist/Communist, predicting the fall of the wall is a little like predicting the end of hockey as a national sport. The socialist and social democratic alternative party has served Canadians for more than 50 years with distinguished service—flected or not. That is why we have in place some of the



Bermuda. Where a family doesn't have to search for things to share.

Bermuda makes bringing the children a joy. Our immaculate, pink-tinted beaches are blissfully uncrowded, so you'll have your own little corner of the world. And it's reassuring to know that our waters are protected and calmed by a barrier reef just two of the values that make Bermuda worth so much more than what you spend.

The value of history. There aren't enough hours in the day to explore the 315 crinoids of Bermuda's past. We've ancient forts, historic harbours, subterranean caves, and a quaint little 17th-century town called St. George. (For qualified tour guides, look for taxis with a little blue flag on the hood.)

Share our sporting values.

Perhaps you'll tour the island together on our sporty motorbikes. (The latest flykes can ride behind us on our 2-seater!) Have a go at tennis on flower-scented courts. Play golf beside the sea. Sail, snorkel, wind-surf, ski. If treasure-hunting is your sport, perhaps the youngsters will allow you a moment or two in our glittering shops.

A warmth you'll value.

Everywhere on our island, you'll be warmed by the welcome of Bermudians. Perhaps it is this, more than anything, that brings families back to us again and again. Talk to your Travel Agent now and plan on a great Bermuda family vacation.

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The Constant family on their 12th visit



most comprehensive legislation, national systems of medicine and pensions, as well as protective labor standards. What is true now is that Canadians want to replace the Liberals, and we do not really care how. Have patience, and you will see. Then you can write about the rebirth of the NDP.

—MAGGIE SPENCER,
Perth, Sask.

It is little wonder there are not solutions in sight for the demise of democratic socialism. That actually started when Pierre Trudeau's brand of socialism came to power and will undoubtedly continue when almost half of the gross national product is produced by government spending. Both of the purveyors of these ruinous political philosophies should listen to NDP researcher James Lacer as well as taking a long, hard look at British Columbia's shoddy solution by Premier Wilton Bennett. Reconsider the work ethic!

—DAVID LATIMER,
St. Catharines, Ont.

The NDP's fight for survival is deserved. The NDP and its leadership conspired to defeat the Joe Clark government and led us head on into the worst recession in 50 years. The mentality of the Liberal-NDP clique has been destructive and costly. The philosophy of those two parties is that government can solve all problems and cure all ills. In the process, the practitioners have made mince-meat of our country.

—KEITH L. MELLOFF,
Toronto

On being 'United Statesian'

Regarding Getting it straight (Letters, April 30) about why people in the United States call themselves American as a Canadian. I sometimes view myself as a North American, just as a German sometimes sees himself as a European or a Brazilian as a South American. There is a two-level system here in which a citizen of the United States could also be called a North American. But how do we label the lower level? A United Statesian? Rebutious! Why not tag the typical ending on a shorter version of the full country name? From the United States of America we get American. Pretty simple, no reason for a fuss, and certainly no reason far as to think that somehow we have lost something. Aren't we bigger than that?

—IAN MCGIBBIN
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should include address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Letters, The Editor, Maclean's Magazine, Maclean, Beaver Bldg., 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

DATELINE: BOLIVIA

The capital of cocaine

On a jungle airstrip in northeast Bolivia, a military transport plane filled with narcotics police recently made a surprise landing near buildings that resembled those on a cattle ranch. In fact, it was a secret cocaine laboratory, and after the 50 elite commandos had stormed it they arrested two high-ranking members of the Bolivian

of medical uses. For one thing, it is a remedy for altitude sickness. Just as 5,000 years ago the Indians buried their dead with bags of coca to speed them on their journey to the next world, Bolivian mountain people now chew coca to resist them in the rigors of this one. It also settles an empty stomach in a country in which hunger is endemic and it amuses men when there is no money for a doctor.

The traditional uses of coca would have continued had it not been for the growing North American demand for powerful drugs. By the late 1970s cocaine—coca's much more potent derivative—had become the drug of choice for millions of North Americans. Dr. Mark Gold, medical director of the U.S. National Cocaine Hotline, estimates that 22 million use it occasionally, five million regularly, and 15 million are addicts. As a result, the export of cocaine from Bolivia became a business three times more valuable than the country's biggest legal export, tin. Currently, Bolivian drug lords provide more than half the world's cocaine, directing about \$500 million a year into the unbalanced national economy and about three times that much into their numbered Swiss bank accounts.

With such large profits available, drug corruption quickly reached into the highest levels of the Bolivian government. Gen. Luis García Meza became president in a 1980 coup, with many Bolivian and U.S. observers say the drug mafia backed García Meza allegedly received 40 million to overlook the drug trade. Now in exile in Argentina, García Meza is believed still to be involved in the drug business. His former interior minister, Luis Arce Gomez, who fleeing in Argentina, said is co-opted an officer that many Bolivians regularly referred to as the ministry of cocaine.

The new civilian government of President Hernán Siles Zuazo wants to power 35 years old, and his cabinet members generally believe that the drug trade has not corrupted them. But his administration is still preoccupied by strikes in the



Shes' smelt by cocaine, said Mocha and the Coca Mocha

The velvet touch.



Black Velvet. A distinguished eye in the best Canadian tradition.

"In 1983, Gulf Canada put 98¢ of every dollar we received back into running our business."

"J.C." Phillips
Chairman of the Board, Gulf Canada Limited

Only about two cents of each dollar Gulf Canada received last year were paid in dividends to shareholders here and in other countries. Of the \$5.2 billion in total revenues only \$66 million left the country as dividends to foreign shareholders, and \$34 million were paid to Canadian shareholders.

Employee wages, salaries and benefits accounted for more than \$450 million. And we spent almost \$750 million on capital and exploration expenditures.

It cost approximately \$2.7 billion (including petroleum compensation charges collected by the federal government) to buy crude oil products, and other materials.

Although our country is temporarily self-sufficient in energy, Canada still spends more than \$3 billion a year to buy crude oil from other countries. If Canada were truly oil self-sufficient, all this money could go into the Canadian economy and we would no longer be at the mercy of foreign oil suppliers.



J.C. Phillips

Here is how Gulf Canada used the \$5.2 billion which was the total amount we received in 1983:

1. Production, Manufacturing and Distribution Costs

Production, pipelines, refining, delivery to dealers and marketing cost \$1.2 billion dollars. Of this, almost \$750 million went for an almost endless list of utilities, materials, supplies and equipment, commissions, insurance and other services. Across Canada, Gulf employee costs, including benefits, amounted to over \$450 million. From midtown staff to president and chairman of the board, Gulf's run in Canada by Canadians.

There are 9,700 people directly on the Gulf payroll. About three

times this number — in service stations, firm centres, independent agents and distributors, as well as in supplier companies — earn their living as a result of Gulf Canada activities.



In spite of cutbacks necessitated by the National Energy Program and the deep recession, Gulf Canada at the end of 1983 had about 9,700 Canadian employees who received wages, salaries and benefits of over \$450 million during the year.

2. Exploration

In 1983 the corporation's expenses in searching for oil, gas and other forms of energy amounted to \$213 million. About half of this went into frontier exploration in the Arctic islands, wells in the Beaufort Sea, drifting off Canada's east coast, including the promising Hibernia area on the Grand Banks east of Newfoundland. The balance was spent on exploration in Western Canada, where Gulf is one of the most active drillers.

3. Crude Oil, Product and Merchandise Purchases

To meet the demands of our industrial, commercial and individual customers we refine much more crude oil than our wells produce.



More than 2,300 Gulf dealers and lessors are independent businessmen who sell Gulf products. In addition, Gulf Canada directly operates about 150 service stations for "hands on" operating experience in key locations across Canada.

Most of this extra crude (together with product and merchandise purchased) is bought from other Canadian sources — approximately \$2.4 billion worth, (including petroleum compensation charges collected by the federal government). However, we still had to buy from other countries about 6% of the crude oil we processed, at a cost of \$128 million.

4. Taxes

Federal and provincial taxes totalled \$600 million in 1983, of which \$71 million were recorded as deferred taxes. Not included are \$347 million in taxes paid under the Energy Administration Act. In addition, Gulf collected \$494 million in gasoline, fuel, excise and export taxes for the federal and provincial governments.

5. Shareholder Dividends

In 1983, Gulf Canada shareholders in Canada and other countries

received dividends amounting to approximately 2% of the corporation's total revenues.



This man-made pond, part of the perimeter landscaping of Gulf's Clarkson Refinery, 35 kilometres west of Toronto, is a favorite landing spot for geese and ducks. The landscaping was designed by Hough, Stansbury & Associates Limited of Toronto. This is just one example of purchases by Gulf in 1983. We spent almost \$750 million with over 50,000 suppliers across Canada. Perhaps some of it comes your way.



This breakdown of the Gulf Canada dollar is based on the figures in our 1983 financial report. With a more equitable sharing of revenues, the industry would have more dollars to invest in Canada's future energy security, providing many more jobs — now.

Gulf Canada's investments and sea-to-sea activities benefit Canadians across the land. The ripple effect of the billions Gulf spends in Canada is felt throughout the country as we purchase everything from ice-breakers to helicopter services from Victoria, B.C. to St. John's, Newfoundland. About 98 cents of every dollar we take in is used to run the business.

Find out more about where Gulf Canada spends its money. To receive a copy of our 1983 Annual Report write:

Bob Ferner,
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afflict and prevent dissemination in the rural areas. Food riots, inflation that reached 325 per cent last year (and at current rates, will reach 5,000 per cent in 1984) and persistent rumors of coup. Such rumors have always been common because Bolivia has suffered 180 coups in its 150-year history as a republic. Western sources say that U.S. Ambassador Kibria Carr has already intervened twice in the past six months to prevent the 181st. The Siles government's cocaine grip has prevented it from making a serious assault on cocaine, even though officials acknowledge that the drug trade seriously distorts the national economy, discourages foreign investors and endes the social fabric.

At the same time, the leaders of the so-called Coca Nostra group steadily erode Little as known of the lower families—the Bascos, the Miskys, the Chavez Rosas. But the Coca Nostra's overlord is a figure of legend. He is Roberto Barrios, the biggest narcotics dealer in the world. The boss of all bosses in the cocaine trade, he supplies at least one-third of all cocaine entering the United States. U.S. drug enforcement officials estimate his net income at \$800 a week, which wholesale in Miami for between \$25,000 to \$45,000 a kilogram. Facilitating his labors is a private army called the Planets of Death, which Scares employs to intimidate police and rivals alike. To cement the legend, he is said to have served as the model for the South American drug chief "Don" in the recent hit movie *Scarface*.

Scares is the son of a wealthy and respected cattle-ranching family. His great-grandfather was the first Bolivian ambassador to Britain and the Scares clan has always contained senators and other political leaders. But in the mid-1970s Scares's habitual gambling finally drove him into debt. Scares quickly found that the money profits to be made from cocaine were the answer to his problems.

He had the help of skilled enforcers—men such as former Guatemalan chief Klaus Barbie, who organized the Planets of Death and recruited right-wing criminals from all over Europe.



Barrios tonight, cocaine: the 'cattle ranch' was a secret laboratory

The Siles government extradited Barbie last year to France, where he awaits trial for war crimes. Another Scares recruit was Pier Luigi Puglisi, whom Bolivia's authorities wanted for the 1980 bombing of the Bologna train station—an explosion that killed 85 people. He was a captain in the *Fuerzas de Death* until Italy had him extradited last year.

Scares prides himself as a survivor: he has consistently worked in his native Beni province, where most of the processing labs and secret airstrips are located, has earned him the silence, if not the gratitude, of many law-poor local residents. Scares declined an interview, but his son detailed for *Rolling Stone* his father's charities—road paving, church restoration and the provision of food and sewing machines to the poor. A federal jury in Miami recently acquitted his son, Roberto Jr., an drug smuggling charge after Bolivian police had ar-

rested him with \$18 million in cash on his person and undercover U.S. narcotics agents had identified him as the man who loaded several hundred pounds of cocaine onto their plane at his father's ranch. The intermediary for the interview with Roberto Jr. was a high police official in the region.

The authorities know where Roberto Scares is and what he does. Still, despite this knowledge by government and police officials, the drug chieftain remains free. Officials in the capital of La Paz deny that their failure to break up the Coca Nostra results from a lack of will to move against the traffickers. Gen. Julio Zapata, chief of the cocaine police, claimed that his forces were simply not strong enough to attack the Coca Nostra. "Why don't you ask the army?" he said. "The military are the ones with the power to solve the problem."

But Gen. Leslie Allen, chief of staff of the Bolivian armed forces, countered, "Constitutionally, we are not in charge of drug enforcement." One Western diplomat (insisting on anonymity, said of the disagreement over authority "It's just as the Generals [the late Chacabana guerrilla leader] said there, the army and police would be all over each other trying to get him. Back in 1967, when the Bolivian military was not nearly as strong as it is now, it wiped out Guernica in no time at all. If the government really puts its mind to it, it could move into Beni province and wipe out the drug mob in a week."

But if Siles did act decisively, the drug mob would likely engineer another coup within a few days. With world sales of \$45 billion a year, the cocaine trade makes it worth it. So far it seems that the Coca Nostra's wealth and political power have persuaded both Bolivia's police and its government to mind their own business—and keep looking the other way.

—DAVID KLINE in La Paz

"What?" I said to them, "You missed the tour boat to Capernaum?" "Climb aboard, I'll give you a tour myself."



"Relax, I told this Canadian couple as we sailed on the Sea of Galilee, 'you didn't really miss the boat."

"After all, you're in Israel. Some people make the mistake of thinking that you have to be a history buff to enjoy a vacation in our country."

"Well, the history's here, all right—3,000 years of it. But Israel's also the perfect vacation for people who want to have fun."

"In this area alone, you can relax at a spa in Tiberias, or windsurf on the Sea of Galilee. And a short hop away there's even an American-style dude ranch."

"Still, with all these different things to do, one thing's always the same. That's the welcome you get from us Israelis."

"But then, what else would you expect from friends?"

Israel, the Miracle on the Mediterranean! For more information about a vacation in Israel, see a travel agent.

Come to Israel. Come stay with friends.

Scares: drug overlord



FOLLOW-UP

Nova Scotia's lobster wars

By Michael Chagton

One year ago this month, lobster fishermen in southern Nova Scotia chased two federal fisheries inspection vessels into the port of West Pubnico and then rammed, burned and sank them. Later, 13 fishermen received suspended sentences under the piracy section of the Criminal Code. And now, in the peak period for Nova Scotia's lobster fishery, relations are still strained between many lobster fishermen and the federal department of fisheries and oceans. The DFO's job is to enforce the fishing limit and prevent overfishing on what is widely regarded as the world's richest lobster grounds. The 1980 crisis, a record \$16.4 million.

Temper ran short in the area, largely because of the money involved. "I thought someone was going to get killed last year," said Leighton Nickerson, 48, a fisherman from Woods Harbour. "If changes are not made soon,



Belliveau: It is an unwritten law that you do not hunt another man's traps!

there could be more violence this year." Added Nickerson: "People believe you are a pirate if you come from Woods Harbour." Paul Sutherland, the DFO's fisheries operations director in Hal-

fax, agreed that tension is still high in the area. "Our officers have removed threats that there will be violence if they haul traps," he said.

During inspections fisheries officers "haul" traps by raising them off the seabed to ensure that they bear the plastic two-tined tags. That enforcement policy is at the heart of the animosity in Lobster District 4A, which covers the southern tip of the province between Digby and Dartmouth. Regulations limit each of the 960 licensed fishermen in the district to a maximum of 375 lobster traps in each of the two seasons—the current season ends May 31—and some fishermen complain that they cannot make a living unless they exceed that limit. The fishermen's average income in 1983 after expenses was \$25,000 to \$35,000.

But DFO biologists calculate that fishing in District 4A has become so intense that fewer than one lobster in 100 survives long enough to reproduce. In addition, experts say that unless they enforce the 375-trap limit, overfishing may destroy the lobster fishery. For his part, lobster fisherman Kirby Nickerson declared, "The department is just so unreasonable—it will not listen to our point of view." Nickerson, 36, is Leighton's nephew, and is also from Woods Harbour, which is the most vocal centre of opposition to government policies. Since its formation in February, 1983, the Bear Point, Shag Harbour, Woods Harbour Fishermen's Association (SWHA), with 102 members, has sought support from political and civic leaders for its claims that fishermen's liveli-

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books are in jeopardy from what they call the DFO's campaign of harassment.

The fishermen argue that government policy encouraged them to break the trap limit between 1968, when the government set the 375-trap limit, and 1982, when enforcement began in earnest. During those 14 years the DFO was able to meet only a token enforcement effort, and, as a result, fishermen in southwestern Nova Scotia routinely set several hundred traps more than the limit with impunity.

What is more, many fishermen received government grants to build larger, better boats and they used them to develop a new, "near shore" fishing ground that extended a least 50 miles out to sea, well beyond the traditional "in shore" grounds. To support the higher costs of that expanded fishery, they say that the trap limit should be increased to at least 650.

The flash point for last year's violence was the DFO's tag-checking practice. The fishermen claimed that it caused disruptions and tangled equipment, reducing their ability to catch lobster. Said Sterling Belliveau Jr., former vice-president of the NSFLA, "We asked the Human Rights Commission to find this unlawful search and seizure. It is an overreach law that you do not haul another man's traps." The HR case is pending.

DFO officials point out that they haul traps for inspection only if they have "reasonable and probable grounds" for suspecting that the traps are illegal—often after other fishermen tip the inspectors off. Said Betherland, "We have been able to haul only a few traps so far this year because of bad weather, but every one has been fished."

Along Nova Scotia's Eastern Shore the lobster fishery has almost died out over the past 30 years, he says, partly because conservation policies were weak. He added that he intends to ensure that that disaster is not repeated in the north. Said Douglas Robinson, a senior adviser with the DFO, "Many fishermen in District 4A are satisfied with the trap limit and enforcement as they are now." Robinson said that some fishermen simply want the DFO to legitimize their illegal fishing by raising the trap limit, and he added, "We have even had three fishermen offer their boats to help us haul traps and enforce the limit."

Fishermen and two officials talk regularly at meetings of Lobster District Working Groups, established last year to defuse tensions, but so far the District 4A group has not managed to lessen discontent, especially in the Woods Harbour area. And that bitterness may yet produce problems that will dwarf the current difficulties. □

Reassessing Harry Truman

Harry S. Truman, the former shopkeeper from Independence, Mo., had a famous brass plaque on his desk in the White House. It read *The Rock Stops Here*. And that was how one of the century's most unpretentious presidents governed the United States from Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt's death on April 12, 1945, until Republican Dwight Eisenhower became president on Jan. 20, 1953. Then, until his death in 1972, Truman relied to his home town, where he had to endure the critics who blamed his administration for the Cold War and attacked him for the atomic bombing of Japan.

But negotiations change, and as Americans celebrate the centennial this month of Truman's birth on May 8, 1984, most critics see him in a much more positive light. In fact, he has become a virtual folk hero: a one-man stage show based on his life has been playing in Washington. Robert Donovan recently published a two-volume Truman biography, and Ronald Reagan, like his predecessor, Jimmy Carter, has the old brass plaque on the presidential desk at the Oval Office.

At the same time, historians are now balancing the dropping of the A-bombs and the Cold War with the fact that

Truman was also responsible for the Marshall Plan (the U.S.-backed program for Europe's economic recovery after the Second World War) and for helping to create both the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. As Donovan explained recently, "Truman has gone up in popularity because people look back on Vietnam and Watergate and all the lying and stonewalling and the credibility gaps of the White House, and they sort of erase the common decency that he brought to the office." And there were other values, Donovan added, besides decency. "The ease to power with no money and he left with no money. He was a totally honest man. If there was something tough that needed saying, he was not afraid to say it. These were considerable qualities. People miss them."

Truman's candor was indeed refreshing: having no illusions, he faced them fairly, heeded his critics. During the 1968 presidential campaign he told an audience in North Carolina, "I have lived in Independence, Mo., since I was six years old, and for 58 years so one paid much attention to me except to say 'Hello, Harry,' when I went there. Now, when I go to my old home in Independence, it takes the whole police force

and half the Secret Service to get me in the front door. I don't know what happens to people."

To celebrate his centennial, various speakers (among them Truman adviser Clark Clifford, former air force secretary Stuart Symington, Congresswoman Danial Boorstin and Margaret Truman Daniel, the president's daughter) will give a series of lectures around the nation; there will be several TV specials, and the Truman home in Independence is being opened to the public. However, his administration is still under close examination—particularly his handling of Japan, McGeorge Bundy, national security adviser under Presidents John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson and now a professor of history at New York University, noted in a recent essay on the dropping of the atom bomb, "I conclude that [Truman's] way of dealing large matters was badly designed for this case." Truman's view was that if he had not used the bomb millions more lives would have been lost as the war in the Far East continued.

For the moment, Truman's reputation as revered statesman is secure, but a 1968 interview revealed his views on the severity of political regulations. "A statesman," he noted with typical optimism, "is a politician who has been dead 10 to 15 years."

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FOLLOW-UP

The lessons of Joe McCarthy's reign

Thirty years ago, in an ornate caucus room of the Senate Office Building in Washington, politicians, lawyers, 400 spectators, 120 reporters and 400 nervous cameramen converged to witness a single man do battle with the United States Army. On black-and-white television screens across North America, 20 million more people tuned in on April 22, 1954. On centre stage, at opposite ends of a 28-foot-long subway table, representatives of the United States defence forces dug in against Senator Joseph Raymond McCarthy, head of the U.S. Senate investigation committee, defender of the flag and formidable enemy of communism. For McCarthy, covered by many Americans as the lone white knight against the great red peril, the army-McCarthy hearings marked the beginning of the end.

As the junior Republican senator from Wisconsin blustered and hallooed his way through 38 days of proceedings, many of his former supporters joined the swelling ranks of Americans who, appalled by McCarthy's insubstantial tactics, christened him "the Prince of Nihilists." The confrontation was inevitable. Fomented by McCarthy's allegations over the past year that communist spies had infiltrated the army's security forces, the army retaliated by charging that McCarthy and his chief counsel for the Senate investigating committee, 28-year-old New York lawyer Roy Cohn, had pressured the army for special favours for G. David Schless, a former McCarthy aide who had recently been drafted. To represent them, the army hired 60-year-old Boston lawyer Joseph Welch, whom Cohn later described as "a courtly gentleman with an old-fashioned grace of manner, a drift, shy wit and an unerring sense for the public."

Welch proved to be McCarthy's adversarial equal. Of the more than two million words in the transcript, Welch's impassioned denunciation of McCarthy stands out as the emotional climax of the hearings. During Welch's cross-examination of Cohn, McCarthy attempted to divert the questioning by asking Welch if he knew that Fred Fisher, a young associate lawyer with Welch's firm, Hale & Dorr, belonged to the National Lawyers' Guild—an organization that McCarthy stated was rife with Communists. It was a favorite McCarthy play: guilt by association.

Enraged, Welch answered: "Until this moment, Senator, I think I never

really gauged your cruelty or your recklessness. Here we sit on a scene of decency?" Welch's brief diatribe reverberated across the United States, coloring the rest of McCarthy's life. The Senate quickly censured him, and three years later, broken by alcoholism and depression, he died at the age of 48.

McCarthy's notoriety began in February, 1950, when the little-known senator told a gathering sponsored by the Ohio County Republican Women's Club

his nose and contradicted himself, lost Edward R. Murrow's live audience, "Tipped what most does Senator McCarthy feed?"

Thirty years later the answer is still unknown. McCarthy and the rings of terror he orchestrated have continued to haunt the American psyche. In the past two years alone, three scholarly biographies have been published on McCarthy: Roy Cohn, who wrote his own account of McCarthy in 1968; 1964,



Cohn (left) and McCarthy confer in 1954; gained lives in the wake of the aviator

in Wheeling, W. Va., that he had a list of 205 names "that were made known to the secretary of state as being members of the Communist party and who are nevertheless are still working in the state department." Overnight, what McCarthy intended as little more than a riveting speech, which four right-wing Washington journalists had written for him, propelled him onto the national stage. Fuelled by the then-current U.S. distrust of foreigners, McCarthy became a power in the Senate. Using often unverified material, threats, smear campaigns, overtones and lies, McCarthy accused people of being communist sympathizers and spies—often, in his enthusiasm, modernizing those who were neither. Across the United States the senator caused rained careers, reputations and lives.

In the end the senator was the cause of his own undoing. In one memorable segment of the popular *See It Now* television broadcasts, in March, 1954, during which the senator belched, puffed

Murrow's, "These recent books are more moderate and therefore more responsible than the left-wing smears that have been written about McCarthy in the past." Now a successful New York lawyer, Cohn still considers himself "a fervent opponent of Soviet communism." He said that "events of the past several years, including those in Poland and Afghanistan, prove that McCarthy's basic premises were right."

Yes, while a few still carry the torch that wrought havoc so many years ago, there are many who have left the flame behind them. In Los Angeles, Bobbie, the reluctant private, now divides his time between movie producing and real estate. In Boston, Fred Fisher has carried out the prophecy by Welch (who died in 1964) that, despite McCarthy, "he had will continue to be with Hale & Dorr." Says Fisher, now a partner in the firm: "It was a ludicrous time in history. I can only hope that nothing like McCarthy ever happens to this country again."

—Sandra McKay



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COLUMN

Confusion, not the GG, reigns

By Charles Gordon

We have a new Governor General, but what is he supposed to do? Confusion reigns. Confusion about the Governor General has reigned throughout our history. Confusion has reigned more than the Governor General has, if in fact the Governor General is supposed to reign at all, which many doubt and others doubt. Does the Governor General actually do anything? Some have tried to do things and get into trouble for it. Others have been criticized because they were not active enough.

What about saying anything? Maybe a Governor General could say things, even if he or she didn't do things. Confusion reigns. Some people thought Ed Schreyer did not say enough. A couple of times he did say things, and people got mad—some of them because they did not like what he said, others because they did not think he had any right to say them. Schreyer even got in trouble for talking about what he might do after he stopped being Governor General.

Everybody is an expert on the Governor General. But confusion reigns. Some Canadians want the Governor General to be the Queen. They want to see money and lots of horses. Other Canadians want the Governor General to be the president. They want the Governor General to invade little countries and tell cats stories.

Knowing Canadians, you would not be surprised that this is so. Some Canadians feel more British than others. Some feel more American. There is a third group that would be just as happy if there were no Governor General at all. There is probably a fourth group. All anybody ever agrees on is this: no matter what kind of job the Governor General does, it will not be right.

Are the experts of any use to us here? The book says that the Governor General has all sorts of powers. He can do what is most useful to anyone that there is a Prime Minister and a responsible cabinet in office. He can mediate between political party leaders when the election warrens. He can act as an adviser and consultant to the cabinet. He even has a reserve power, in certain grave circumstances, to act on his own initiative.

That's what the book says. A warning: there are other books. And there are other opinions. When Schreyer talked, in retrospect, about

trying to avert a possible deadlock in the constitutional debate, he was jumped on by all sides. Schreyer's suggestion that he might have caused dissolution of Parliament was greeted with particular vehemence.

People, it turns out, do not really want the Governor General to have that much power. So what does that leave? "The Governor," says R. Macdonald Dawson in *The Government of Canada*, "is also the social head of the country and has always been supposed to exercise moral leadership as well."

But exercising moral leadership means having and expressing opinions. And, as Dawson warned, "The most go wrong is that he should unwittingly trespass upon what some justice person, political party or organization considers to be a controversial issue of which officially and publicly he must have no opinion."

Such a restriction drastically limits the Governor General's ability to be a

'All anybody can agree on is this: no matter what kind of job the Governor General does, it will not be right'

dynasty sort of fellow, as Lady "Ones," Lord Tweedsmuir, Canada's 15th Governor General, confessed to the U.S. Senate. "I was like him. I was a free and independent. I could have put my mind on any subject, anywhere, at any time, at any length I pleased. I had an official character and, for me, I had also a private character. Now, I'm in the unfortunate position of having no private character."

That's one answer to the question why doesn't he do something; why doesn't he say anything? Canadians expect a lot from their GG, and he cannot do much to fulfil these expectations. A free and independent politician could. The problem is not something invented by Ed Schreyer, or even Lord Tweedsmuir. Lord Dufferin, our third Governor General, felt the pinch too. The Governor General, he said, "was no political figure—still less and he had political means; the possession of either, my, even to be suspected of possessing either, destroys his usefulness."

No political friends, no political opinions, no political power. What remains?

"Closely associated with the Governor's social activity are his duties as the ceremonial head of the government," Dawson says. "The Governor General gets to officiate—to stand up straight and present this and that. And there is the social thing. Believe it or not, the Governor General can even get into trouble here the social head of the country. "The Earl himself was a sensitive and inoffensive man," said a Toronto publication in 1898, "but his wife was the most aggressive body who ever presided over Rideau Hall." Con- sider how alive you have been.

Being the social head of the country means establishing a style. The style may be 18-cousin dinners for the glitzy or it may mean children and dogs charging through the ballroom. Wherever it is, someone will not like it. There was real expression in some circles that with the Schreyer gone elegance would return to Rideau Hall. What elegance means is nobody's guess, but it can be assumed that the Schreyers liked it, at least in some sense.

Even on such a simple, basic question as whether Rideau Hall should be elegant or not, there is the lack of a Canadian consensus. Elegance fans think that an elegant Rideau Hall would mean the regular attendance there of a Canadian aristocracy, which might just make the natives. The only elegance faction thinks that there is no Canadian aristocracy, should not be one, and it certainly should not be the Governor General's role to foster one.

A Rideau Hall that glitters too much will not have the respect of Canadians who want their vicereigns and vicereines to be just folks. An egalitarian Rideau Hall will not please those who want it to be a show-off place for the best and the brightest, as defined in the social lexicon.

Such is the bitter-sweet reality of life at Rideau Hall as the new term begins. Reigning, or whatever, over a quarrelsome group of people who want her to be several mutually exclusive things simultaneously, the Governor General is trapped of power without the power and suffer the inevitable criticism without being able to do much in response to it. Meanwhile, there are ceremonies over which to preside and parties to give. This must be the right sort of party, although who knows what those are?

Charles Gordon is a columnist for the Ottawa Citizen.

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A GLITTERING OCCASION



The pomp was impressive brass bands, honor guards, 21-gun salutes, red-coated Mounties on horseback. And the circumstances were happy: the investiture of Jeanne Sauvé, who last week, belatedly, became the first woman to hold the titles of Governor General, Commander-in-Chief and Keeper of the Great Seal of Canada. "After being represented in Canada by men for such a long time," Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau declared during a ceremony in the Senate chamber, "it is right and proper that Her Majesty should finally have a woman representative here." Minutes later Sauvé, 62, achieved yet another first: the 32nd Governor General since Confederation tripped on the hem of her dress while inspecting the honor guard. That night she appeared at a gala variety show at the National Arts Centre with her right ankle strapped in an elastic bandage.

Still, Sauvé had reason to appear delighted, if a little tired, on the day of her investiture. Shortly after Trudeau announced her appointment to succeed Edward Schreyer last December, she fell ill, subsequently spending nearly two months in hospital. Her illness, still described only as a "respiratory problem," apparently began with an infection last summer, and Sauvé later admitted it was a circumpetio that she worried during her convalescence that she would have to decline the honor. But although her voice sounded thin and raspy at her installation, she pronounced herself fit for the task.

Her work began the day after she took office and moved, with her husband, Maurice, 66, a business executive, into Rideau Hall, the Governor General's official residence. There were meetings with members of the diplomatic corps, the Speaker of the Senate and with recently appointed Chief Justice Brian Dickson of the Supreme Court of Canada, her vice-regal deputy.

Sauvé is accustomed to a hard press. She served as Commons Speaker from 1980 until last fall—a period of intense parliamentary debates. A Montrealer too, she was also a cabinet minister, holding at various times the sciences and technology, environment and communications portfolios in the Trudeau government. She first reached prominence in Quebec as a television journalist, while working at the same time as wife to



Sauvé with Maurice (below) with wife, Bertha (lower right), Trudeau, Mills and Brian Mulroney: a little tired but ready to work.

Maurice Sauvé (a cabinet minister under Prime Minister Lester Pearson in the 1960s) and as mother to their son, Jean-François, now a 24-year-old management trainee in a Toronto bank.

In her investiture speech Sauvé stuck three main themes: the unity needed for Canadian nation-building; the importance of continued efforts to achieve world peace; and her confidence in the nation's youth. Said Sauvé:

"Peace is the ultimate goal from which we cannot digress so long as the world is inhabited by starving, oppressed people who are victims of the selfishness, indifference and cruelty of others."

Life Schreyer, Sauvé plans to travel widely in her role as Governor General, and one of her first overseas engagements will be a lunch with Queen Elizabeth II at Buckingham Palace June 12. But Ottawa observers foresee some

changes as well. Instead of the down-to-earth, family atmosphere that the Schreyers brought to Government House, Sauvé is expected to favor a style of sophisticated elegance in the mansion, whatever Sauvé's ultimate influence on the governor-generalship and the realm may be, she has begun her term of office with a regal display of grace and dignity.

—REPORTED BY JOHN HAY in Ottawa.



The viceregal procession: elegance.

Maclean's

JULY 1984



Partly-destroyed Lorton plant, a 20-year sentence after an explosion injured 10

Stern justice for a bomber

Her friends and family in Coquitlam, B.C., remember her as a popular, intelligent teenager who wanted to be a nurse, loved animals and coached a girls' softball team. But in October, 1982, when Julian Belinas helped explode 550 lb. of dynamite loaded into a parked van, she saw herself as a revolutionary acting against the international arms race. Belinas directed the blast at a Lorton Systems of Canada plant in suburban Toronto, which manufactures the guidance system for the U.S. cruise missile. The explosion injured 10 people and caused \$3.9 million worth of damage.

Last week Belinas, a pale, black-haired 22-year-old, stood in a courtroom in New Westminster, B.C., and apologized for the suffering she had caused. Despite her professed remorse, however, prosecutors representing the B.C. and Ontario attorney general demanded 30 years in jail sentences for her part in the bombing and other crimes Belinas admitted having committed during a four-month crime wave that ended with her arrest in January, 1983. And, over the pleading of defense lawyer John Courtney, who said that a sentence of more than 10 years would crush Belinas' Judge Samuel Tych sent her to prison for 30 years. At the same time, they sentenced Belinas's boy-

friend, former rock musician Gerald Hannah, 27, to 10 years in prison. Like Belinas, Hannah had pleaded guilty to mid-March to crimes that included attempted arson at a Bud Weir Video store in Coquitlam; dealing in sexually explicit tapes; conspiracy to rob a Brink's armored car in Burnaby, B.C.; possession of stolen goods, including an arsenal of weapons; and car thefts.

During the four-day sentence hearing, Ontario and B.C. prosecutors' alibi described Belinas as a terrorist and a member of a group of urban guerrillas who tried as outlaws. But B.C. Crown Attorney James Jardine acknowledged that Hannah, seen as a lone player for a punk rock group, had played a lesser role. Said Jardine: "She was not a committed urban guerrilla. He was there as a support person."

Belinas listened impassively, her face

puffy, as prosecutors read transcripts made during a 14-month police investigation of the pair that began shortly after the explosion and ended with arrests on the Danforth highway north of Vancouver. According to police recordings, Belinas boasted to her boyfriend about the bombing: "I am really proud." Ontario lawyer Cussey Hill went on to describe how Belinas had telephoned a warning to the Lorton security office 13 minutes before the explosion occurred. It injured five Lorton employees, three Metropolitan Toronto policemen and two drivers travelling in cars on nearby highway 407. According to Hill, a policeman who lost his hearing is one of five people who will need lifelong medical attention as a result of the blast.

Three days into the hearing, Belinas stood and said that she would feel guilty for her role in the explosion for the rest of her life. "Probably I want to apologize to these people and to the Canadian public for the suffering I caused," she declared in a tremulous voice. "I meant no harm." Reading from a handwritten prepared statement, she told the court, "I was acting against a war machine, not against this people held within it." For his part, defense lawyer Courtney submitted that a long sentence would ruin his client's chance of rehabilitation. But Hill, arguing for a lengthy sentence, declared, "The disturbances in Canada, involving acts of violence against property with the risk of serious personal injury, must be crushed in its infancy."

As well, psychiatric social worker Marlene Abramovitch told the court that Belinas knew herself for drawing

Hannah into the group. Hill, police planted bugs in the basement, bedrooms and kitchen of a New Westminster home shared by the group and recorded Hannah discussing further sabotage actions, including blowing up aircraft at a Canadian Forces base in Cold Lake, Alta., where the cruise missile was tested in early March. In sentencing the defendants, Judge Tych said that he viewed the defendants' "defensiveness and renegeation of their crimes with skepticism." "I suppose you are fortunate, young lady, that no one was killed," the judge said. "Belinas, 1983," he told Belinas.

DEBORAH WILSON in New Westminster

Belinas: professed remorse



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Christies in St. John's: his home in Ottawa, the only obstacle between Turner and the job he has coveted for two decades.

COVER

In pursuit of the undecided

By Mary Joannan

be Pierre for Prime Minister Jean Trudeau's job has narrowed to a showdown between two dramatically different men: the cool politician John Turner and the streetfighter Jean Chrétien. During the past two months senior outsiders have spent millions of dollars and traveled thousands of kilometers in search of support. But with only four weeks left in the election, the two candidates, Finance minister Turner and Justice minister Chrétien, have maintained his campaign-long lead. Only the surface changes in Chrétien, Trudeau's energy minister and a man who does not like Turner or, in fact, the Conservative leadership, have shaken the lead. Turner and Chrétien, the other five outsiders are now swinging painfully with the realization that they will not win. In conclusion, they are despondent of someone suffering the real results of a political system broken down in the republican spirit.

The party and the polls agree. Christian is the only obstacle between Turner and the job that he has coveted for more than two decades. The Shawnee, Ok., lawyer is running flat out as

an unabashed appeal to the heart, and he is calling on old loyalties and old debts. While Turner promises new schemes—often vaguely defined—and a new style, Christie has embraced the policies of the past. The problem for the liberals who want continuity is that Christie may not be able to sustain it. Many Liberals have serious questions

'Liberals would like to vote for the nice guy, but they have been smoked so often that Turner will be the man'

about Clinton and his potential First, can he win the next election? Second, does he have the intellectual and organizational capability to do the job of Prime Minister?

The unusually large number of uncommitted delegates must find the answers to these questions before they vote June 16, because all camps agree that they have become the key to determining the winner. Roughly 1,000 of the

rights are a national responsibility. And he insists that Canada needs a strong "activist" government bent on strengthening the national economy.

tion. Christie's advisors angrily charge that because he expends many current dollars, his rivals unfairly accuse him of having no ideas of his own. They have rejected any suggestion that he dwell on programs specific or broad in scope, and instead focus on broad, one-day themes. The result is a campaign strategy that they are unwilling or unable to change—at a time when many demagogues are clearly unsettled with what they now see. "They are desperately searching for something to give the campaign an added boost, but they cannot figure out what that could be," said a Liberal close to the Christies, adding, "They think they are not going to lose, so they are also not going to lose. It's been like this to combat the view that Turner is the only possibility of winning the next election. They have simply exhausted this round of campaigning."

Highlights: Because they will not change their own campaign, Christie and his strategists are laying for a major Turner mistake. Clarifications and retractions over federal protection of minority language rights blighted the early days of the Turner campaign. And Christie reaped the benefits with a crooked grin and a happy boast: "I do not drop the ball very often." But Turner is close to the finish line now, controlled and far more confident. He

does not plan to take any major gambles over the next few weeks, and it is unlikely that anyone will lure him into another major mistake.

That leaves Clinton picking from the heart—and at the mercy of his five lesser political opponents if the unexpected happens. Clinton has a record of loyalty and tradition, he could emerge from the first ballot trailing Turner by fewer votes than many liberals saw the post. He must then hope that most of the five other contenders (Gore, Clinton, Bush, Dole, and Perot) will support him from Agriculture Minister Elaine Whelan and Indian Affairs Minister John Manro. But Economic Development Minister Donald Johnston would support Clinton, and Agriculture Minister Mark McGaughey is notoriously neutral, hoping to be a convenient power broker. And, although Employment Minister John Roberts has sympathies with close links to Clinton, he may be more likely to support the more established and well-known Clinton's strategists are quietly aware of the need for second-ballot backing—and they have maintained strong ties with the other camps. "Those Turner guys are a little bit off the wall," says one senior aide, "but they're not as off the wall as the other candidates and the grassroots [members] around the country," so he planned a straight meeting for a second-tier audience. "They had better get in there because they're the danger zone," he says. "If they don't, they're going to militate a warm feeling for

their campaign or their candidate." While the contenders fight their family feuds, Brian Mulroney and his opponents, Conservative leader Jean Charest, watching the polls after 10:30 a.m., in a dramatic reversal, the Liberals moved ahead of the Tories in the Gallup poll for the first time in 30 years. The Tories' private polls in May and June showed that they were losing support, but the situation may change with the arrival of a new liberal leader, especially if that leader is Turner. A Gallup poll of Liberal voters released last week showed that 59 per cent would support Turner while 39 per cent would back Charest. A significant third of the respondents were uncommitted. And a Southern poll of almost 1,500 Canadians in seven cities, including the Tories' 10 strong Quebec, showed that 55 per cent of voters would support Turner as Prime Minister, while 35 per cent would vote for Mulroney. In pressed contrast, 65 per cent would prefer Mulroney if he were the opposition while Charest, Charest's support would be 25 per cent. Charest's leader with 35 per cent support.

Despaired: That poll deepened serious—and still unanswered—questions about Christie's ability to win the next election. At the same time, Christie was trying to buck tradition: the Libera's long practice of alternating Anglophone and francophone leaders. The party has along to that tradition as a way of soothing the tensions and assuaging the fears between the country's two founding cultures. Christie says





Here (above) (below) the other five candidates are struggling painfully with the realization that they will not win

COVER

maintains that the party is mature enough to ignore that pattern and simply choose the best man for the job that he is following a Prime Minister who held power for almost 30 years and who provoked powerful resentments when he officially elevated French to equality with English. "People like and admire Jean Chrétien, but they are concerned about electing another French-Canadian Prime Minister," declared Lolo Fyfe, president of a Liberal association in Brandon, Man.

Legacy: Chrétien has both helped and hurt his own case. His strong showing among delegates in British Columbia and Newfoundland has shown that his appeal cuts across linguistic lines. But he has also chosen to run as the guardian of the Trudeau legacy, firmly identifying himself in the process with the triumphs and failures of that era. As a result, Chrétien may simply re-evoked all resentments. As Turner supporter Tim Stoddaka, a Regina lawyer, remarked, "as much as we would like to vote for Chrétien because he is such a nice guy, but we are so used to getting smoked politically that Turner will be the choice."

Chrétien's record during the Trudeau years has also prompted delegates to question his ability to be Prime Minister. His administrative and political style has been both distinctive and con-

servational. In each of the eight ministries that he has headed since 1987, he has concentrated on the key problems and often solved them. In three years, from 1989 to 1992 at the Indian and northern affairs department, he managed to tell the provinces that creating 16 new national parks. That success won him a \$5 wage with A. P. Prune, the former president of the parks association who wrote on the still-unused cheque. "I never before paid a living but with so much downright pleasure," Taylor of other Chrétien veterans against heavy odds are now legendary. In late 1981 he cornered Ontario Attorney General Roy McMurtry and former Saskatchewan attorney general Roy

Alberta oil with a minimum of bitterness—as against that defined some of the intense federal-provincial tensions over energy policy. "He deals with the major things because sometimes only he can solve them," said a longtime political associate. "He expects the civil servants to deal with the smaller things." A veteran Liberal aide added that Chrétien is not intransigent or lazy "but he does choose one or two things with high profile for political mileage and that's all he does."

That trouble-shooting style of governing means that Chrétien is rarely involved in daily departmental business or long-term planning. He resorts on one-page briefing memos, and his officials often have trouble getting his sustained attention for substantial briefings on complicated policy matters. He misses most cabinet executive meetings and he often skips full cabinet sessions. In his intransigence, he has been accused of appearing detached when he chaired the social development cabinet committee from 1990 to 1992. He tried to speed up the proceedings by cutting short debate and setting strict time limits. And when MacGowan inter-



Chrétien, MacGowan (below): a relationship complicated by the perilous politics of class and language

ted his portfolio from Chrétien in 1992, he asked the bureaucrats to start planning widespread and long-overdue revisions to the antiquated Criminal Code. During Chrétien's tenure, few policy initiatives were developed and morale was low. "There is a lot of surface politeness there—but no substance," said a disenchanted bureaucrat in the energy department.

Strengths: The success of a Chrétien government would likely depend on the strength of his team. He has a reputation for attracting and keeping talented staff members. Former aide John Rae, for one, is now a vice-president of Power Corp in Montreal and campaign manager for his former boss. And Chrétien's long-time adviser, Edna Goldenberg, is a bright and many political flavor—a man who knows the system and how to get things through it. "A Chrétien government would be free-wheeling, flexible, partisan and open," said another Liberal aide. "It would have a record of formidable achievements because Chrétien is a coordinator. He can make a deal, he can take a hard situation and bring about a resolution."

Critics counter that the team—not Chrétien—would be running the country. They speak yearningly of Trudeau's depth and dispassionately of the Chrétien penchant for one-page memos. "The worst side of politics is constant polarization of the issues," admitted a Chrétien friend. "I think he lacks the 'great centre' that flows from a coherent view of government."

Comparisons with the polished Turner have haunted and irritated Chrétien throughout the campaign. Although Turner was raised by his widowed mother, Phyllis, on a government economist's salary, she was a civil servant with powerful and influential friends. Her marriage in 1945 to Frank Ross, a wealthy B.C. industrialist, confirmed Turner's status as a child of power and privilege. By contrast, Chrétien was born in a suburb of Shawinigan on Jan. 11, 1934, the 18th of 19 children and the eighth of the nine who survived infancy. To support his large family, his father worked two part-time jobs besides working at the local paper mill. The Chrétien lived in a rough, run-down part of Shawinigan, and there were fre-

quent fights outside the Chen Laberge pool room next door. "I learned the techniques of street fighting early," Chrétien said. "You induce the other guy to let his guard down and when it's bang, you hit him."

Disenchant: This frustration with politics developed in his early years. Chrétien's father was the Liberal organizer in the local parish for 40 years, and young Jean was passing out pamphlets and setting up chairs for political meetings when he was 11 years old. By 16 he was locked in political disputes at the pool hall. At 18, he began spending his summers at the paper mill, working as a laborer on hot and exhausting shifts that often lasted all seven days of the week. That same year he met his first and only love, 16-year-old Anne Chénier, the daughter of a local aluminum company worker. The couple has been married almost 27 years, and there are three children, including an adopted Indian son from Inuvik. From his adolescence, Chrétien sought an escape from factory work. Said the middlester: "I was going to study law at Laval because I knew that was the best way to get elected in Saint-Maurice riding—to be a lawyer, a man who can deal with all the problems of all the people. The idea to become a politician just grew on me."

When that decision was made, his political career developed smoothly. He won his first federal election in 1962, representing the riding of Saint-Mau-



rice-Lalich. By 1985 he was parliament secretary to Prime Minister Lester Pearson. In 1986 he did the same job for then-Finance Minister Mitchell Sharp and, although his English was poor, he forced himself to go across the country defending government economic policies. His diligence caught Trudeau's attention, and from 1987 Christian moved from minister without portfolio through revenue, Indian Affairs, Treasury Board, trade, finance, justice and social development, and energy. In the finance department, particularly, his persistence for simple approaches often made him appear poorly briefed. But he has never seriously embarrassed himself or the government, and his honesty and patriotism

lost no politicians. "But when he is betrayed, he rarely forgives or forgets. Still, almost all his constituents talk of his generosity and kindness. And on a cold day in Saskatoon recently, Christian brought his driver into a meeting rather than let the man shiver outside."

Reluctant: On the road during the campaign, his style is unaffected. He carries his own suitcase, prefers taxis to limousines and travels with only one aide. The pace is relentless, with Christian constantly in motion. Campaign manager Jean has found that the best way to get the minister's attention during a hectic day is to talk while he is waiting in and from appointments. Christian's relationship with his home province is complicated by the perils of politics of class and language. To English Canada, Christian portrays himself

with Englishness because he makes them feel secure—even superior. Le Devoir's editor in chief, Louis Rasmont, once wrote that Christian arrives through English Canada "bring[ing] this number of the ill-spoken, vulgar Quebecer, the happy slave who asks his master for more punishment." Christian reacted that his critics were snobs.

Whatever the reason, most senior Quebec ministers are neutral or in Turner's camp. Many MPs contend that with Christian as Prime Minister they simply could not win their seats. Others are looking for a clear break with the past. Said Quebec back-bencher Jean-Claude Malgouyres: "For Turner there is real change." Added another Quebec back-bencher, Jean Lapierre, a sometime Christian protégé: "Jean has done his part, but it is time for a



Christian with wife, Alina (centre); Goldenberg (right) searching for something to give the campaign an added boost!

have never been questioned.

Christian's achievements sometimes seem unlikely because of his carefully dosed public image as the self-styled "little guy" from Hawkeby, the street-smart, fighter and perpetual underdog. His style is blunt, earthy and endearing. He gives loyalty—but he demands it in return. When Labour Minister André Gosselin and other Quebec MPs chose to support Turner this spring, Christian berated them at a closed-door caucus session, reminding them of his hard-fought efforts for them. A victim of infelicitous parody, he has a created grin that once prompted columnist Dalton Tuck to remark that Christian looks "like the driver of the getaway car." Christian countered, "At least I don't talk out of both sides of my mouth like a

so-called 'two-speaker and proud of it'—and he was one of the few Liberals who remained personally popular throughout the West during the Trudeau era. He often told Alberta officials that he has 550 e-mails scattered across that province—adding that the family could go gang up with a riding for the Grits. He has always used self-deprecating humor to put other people at ease and to defuse the prejudices of linguistic differences. Last week, in front of an English-speaking crowd in Newfoundland, he answered a question in French. Then he grinned while the crowd laughed: "I don't have to translate because I'm sure you all understood every word." But that routine has befuddled some French-speaking Canadians who feel that Christian is popular

change—a real change."

Christian has one month to convince his fellow Liberals that the traditions of the past are worthy of preservation. If enough of them agree, he will become the 17th Prime Minister of Canada. If they do not, he intends to stay in Ottawa anyway—and, if asked, he would even serve as the new leader's Quebec lieutenant. "I am in politics to stay if the conditions are satisfactory," he declared recently. And that means—win or lose—Canadians will see a lot more of the man with the long memory, the short fuse and the passionate convictions.

With David Cole, Terry Macgregor and Suzanne Riley in Ottawa, Anne O'Brien in Vancouver, Gordon Legge in Calgary and Anthony Wilson-Smith in Montreal.

The Liberal brass hats lean to Turner

By their numbers alone, they are a potent force that all the Liberal leadership contenders must try to attract. They are the official convention delegates—about 1,500 current or former legislators and party office holders who are automatically entitled to vote for the new leader—and together they will cast more than a third of the ballots at next month's convention. Because of the influence they might exert on rank-and-file delegates, their importance extends beyond their numbers, and, as a result, candidates have been courting them very vigorously. After interviews last week with so many delegates in every province, Macdon's found that John Turner holds the lead among the party establishment—but it is not as wide a lead as he might hope.

In interviews with the Liberal MPs and former MPs, MLAs, riding presidents, party officials and senators who qualify as ex officio delegates, Macdon's learned that Turner was the favorite of the party brass in the West, Ontario and—narrowly—Quebec. In the Atlantic region the race between Turner and Energy Minister Jean Chrétien was too close to call. Among the 145 Liberal MPs Turner appeared to have the support of about 68, while Christian had roughly 50. Chrétien claims the support of at least 12 ex-officio ministers while Christian has six. Among the Macdon's canvass, all the other candidates combined could only claim the open support of a half-dozen MPs. The rest of the caucus—including Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, Finance Minister Marc Lalonde and External Affairs Minister Allan Rock—was keeping their opinion private.

Endorsements: Of 1,500 eligible voting delegates, 1,000 can attend without seeking election, according to the latter available party figures. Another 500 represent such groups as youth wings, women's associations and general-interest caucuses. The remaining 1,000 delegates are elected through riding meetings. The informal Macdon's tally, based on interviews with automatic delegates, suggests that although Turner snipped up endorsements from MPs and other insiders by opening his leadership campaign early, Christian has subsequently picked up the slack. There is a split between those two men, no one else. Maurice Macdon, an endorsed supporter and president of the Quebec riding association in Beauharnois-Salaberry, "Now we must evaluate issues and decide who will win for us."

While perceived ability to lead the

party to victory in the next general election may indeed be the deciding factor, individual delegates advanced a wide variety of other reasons for choosing one candidate over another. Martin Poulin, president of Quebec's Beauce riding association, explained that he intended to support Turner "because my MP is supporting him. It is as simple as that." Linda Thibault, president of Toronto's Scarborough Centre riding association, lists Employment Minister John Roberts as her first choice and Christian as her second. As for Turner, says Thibault: "I don't like his politics, his background or his personal history

ex officio delegates tend to favor Turner more than members at large and that fewer of the insiders are still undecided or uncommitted.

Gratitude: Like other Liberals, many automatic delegates were struggling to reconcile an emotional pull to Christian with a cold-blooded political bet on Turner. Said Stephen Khan, vice-president of the Quebec executive of the federal Liberal party: "Heaven knows I have nothing against Christian and I could very easily work under him. But I think the economy is what is on people's minds most right now and I think that Turner is the guy most people think has



Turner with Liberal strongman Keith Dewar: between sentiment and power

In cabinet I could not support him." Further west, Allan Fingas, president of the St. Boniface Liberal association, decided after considerable soul-searching to support Turner over Christian because he felt only Turner has a chance of making the Liberals into a truly national party again. Turner, says Fingas, is "perceived as being best for the West."

Overall, the leanings of the ex officio delegates probably mirror those of the party at large. Timothy Hartman, a political aide to leadership candidate John Roberts, said that while insiders within the party's central organizations generally support Turner, Christian does better among riding presidents. "The real grassroots of the party," said Ottawa MP John Evans, a Turner backer, said that

the answers "In sum, Christian makes a claim to friendship and gratitude from party workers who have known him for years. Turner, on the other hand, makes no promises but offers the prospect of power in the years ahead. The conflict between sentiment and power leaves the party brass with the same hard choice as the party at large."

Reported by David Jackson in Vancouver, Gordon Legge in Calgary, Dale Roper in Regina, Loree Langston in Winnipeg, Robert Shook in Toronto, Anthony Wilson-Smith in Montreal, Josée Webster in Fredericton, Stephen Kruger and Sherry Alderton in Halifax, Kennedy Wells in Christchurch, Bruce Woodworth in St. John's, Michael Macdonald in Vancouver and Sandra Macdonald in Tel Aviv.

An old conflict revived

During his long exposure in the world of corporate law, John Turner usually did not return returned telephone calls. At the same time, the former finance minister frequently held private talks with selected journalists and publishers. Now, as one of the leading candidates for the Liberal party leadership, Turner has discovered that some of the Fourth Estate on his campaign bus are less amiable.

Since his March return to public life and his early controversial statements over the language rights issue, Turner has received precisely treatment from some reporters and columnists. Turner feels that journalists have become more confrontational since 1978 and he considered to a reporter recently that placing the press "is a much rougher game" than it used to be.

Conflicts Turner appears to be uneasy among journalists. Part of his problem with the working press may lie in the fact that he is largely unknown to younger reporters covering the campaign. Another factor is the wide perception that he is the most likely winner and, therefore, the candidate who should be under the most intense scrutiny. Says Anthony Westell, acting director of Carleton University's school of journalism in Ottawa: "The press has been a little bit harder on Turner than Clinton, if only because Turner came on the scene like a derby prince and there was a great temptation to trip him up."

The performance of the press in a personal issue in political campaigns, and the current Liberal race is no exception. Inevitably, candidates who are ranked behind the leading contenders—Turner and Energy Minister Jean Charest—complain that they are being ignored. Greenback Justice Minister Blaine Hargrove: "We are not getting equal value." For his part, Denis O'Brien, vice-president of the Young Liberal organization and a key organizer for Employment

Minister John Roberts, criticized the press for "paying too much attention to the weeds and not enough attention to the issues." The problem is an old one: journalists' conflict between what is interesting and what is *safe*. Are the media discounting the five second-hand candidates because the Liberal delegates are, or are the delegates being influenced by the press? Says Westell: "I just don't know the answer."



Turner about his campaign bus: there was a great temptation to trip up the 'derby prince'

A different kind of journalistic issue involving ethics emerged in the campaign earlier this month when MacGilligan told a Global Television Network interviewer, during a newsroom break, that if he became Prime Minister he would "of course" fire Bank of Canada Gov. Gerald Bouey. MacGilligan was astonished and angry when the network aired his remarks—which he insisted were not meant seriously—and other reporters quoted them widely. But the controversy among journalists of right-winged political operators was that MacGilligan should have known better

than to be indifferent in front of a microphone. An informal conversation also caused difficulties for Turner. He told reporters on his campaign bus May 19 about a supposed 1973 disagreement between Pierre Trudeau and himself over wage and price controls. The Prime Minister daily denied Turner's well-publicized version of the events leading up to his resignation nine years ago. After Turner phoned Trudeau to apologize, the two men declared the issue to be closed.

Shirked Turner's organization accepted responsibility for not establishing that the last conversation was off the record. Since then, Jacques Haudan, a Turner press assistant, follows

Turner everywhere with a tape recorder. The episode raised another question about the press. According to George Bain, a veteran newspaperman and director of the school of journalism at King's College in Halifax, the Canadian media have shirked their duty in not following up on Trudeau's suggestion that Turner was not telling the truth about the events of nine years ago. "We are faced with sharp contradictions," says Bain, "and we just let them go by." —*Mark Gosselin* and *Carol Goss*, *Boston Atlas* and *Terry Macgregor* in Ottawa

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Munro: looking for new coalitions

Like the other second-tier contenders in the Liberal leadership race, Justice Affairs Minister John Munro is convinced that he is in third place behind John Turner and Jean Chrétien. In the fourth in a series of interviews with Maclean's, the member for Hamilton East discussed his chances of winning and his political priorities with the magazine's senior editor.

Maclean's: What makes you think you can win?

Munro: You have to assess the chances of the two front-runners. If there is a folding in the Liberal party at this time that I do not want a francophone leader—that the party should carry on with alternating English- and French-speaking leaders—then Jean Chrétien is not going to win it. And if John Turner continues to campaign the way he has been, I think he is going to lose support. I do not agree with John's memory of why he quit the cabinet in 1970, and I do not agree with him on the Quebec's French language rights or on the Quebec's Bill 161. It is quite as realistic type of campaign. So if Turner starts to slip, then I think a very large uncommitted bloc of people is going to start looking for somebody else. And this is the chance I am desperately hoping for.

Maclean's: What is the most important issue facing the country today?

Munro: The most important issue is the need to maintain our economic viability as a nation. I am talking about meaningful jobs for thousands of Canadians whose jobs are being phased out and for hundreds of thousands of young people. Canada is in a positive today where we will have to measure up as we have never had to before. We are going to have to form new coalitions in this country and adapt fundamentally changed attitudes about how we run our lives and how we conduct business on a day-in-day basis in this country.

Maclean's: If you were Prime Minister, what would you do immediately to help the unemployed?

Munro: I would call on the business and labor communities and I would use the election mandate I had just won to that certain institutions could be put in place in this country that would give them a real role in terms of setting economic targets. What I know is that in some kind of an economic development board involving the private sector, labor and government that would develop economic priorities as a sector-by-sector approach across the country to deal with some of the real structural problems threatening the survival of those

sectors. Government involvement would be in terms of putting money up front—something the private sector is perhaps not always prepared to do right now—and using it as leverage to get concessions from labor and business to achieve economic goals.

Maclean's: What would you do about the deficit?

Munro: I think it would just make matters worse to go into some type of retrenchment program in order to chop down the deficit. If we get a philosophy

greater outflow of capital from this country, then we would have to do it.

Maclean's: John Chancellor's books put a hole in all our hopes.

Munro: Our bankers have let us down. I do not think they are very progressive agents for economic recovery in Canada. They have got things too much to themselves, with telephone calls and handshakes for the big loans and a far different set of rules for small business. The banks and bigger corporations in this country have by and large not been very helpful in getting recovery going. It has been the small business community that has done it.

Maclean's: Would you use unemployment insurance more as a job creation program than an insurance scheme?

Munro: Yes. We have several experimental programs of this kind, and they have been fairly successful. We should get into it on a much bigger way.

Maclean's: Would you expand the federal role in education?

Munro: We would have to if the provincial education systems do not provide training in the type of skills that Canadians are going to need in the 1980s and in the 1990s. I really wonder whether a lot of our young people even have the basis to communicate adequately. We have to change that and we need to build a whole image of skills growth for the so-called New Society.

Maclean's: That kind would the federal government get the provinces to upgrade their educational standards?

Munro: We would just tell them we are going to withdraw money from established programs under our responsibility for unemployment and start to make the federalists, aggressive under the auspices of the defense department, and through our other jurisdictions.

Maclean's: If you were leader, what constitutional would influence your political beliefs?

Munro: The thing that bothers me the most outside of our economic difficulties is the thought that as we may become so regrettably preoccupied that our political parties are not going to be able to function as national entities. So you will have the Conservatives as a western party, the New Democrats as a midwestern party and the Liberal party as an eastern party. I want the Liberal party to occupy the national centre, with policies as a leader that will attract all the voters who are looking for a place to go.

If we Liberals pass up that opportunity, we will have passed up an opportunity to create fundamental consensus across the country.



Munro: 'bankers have let us down'

in Ottawa that says, let's deal with the deficit almost in isolation from the commitment to further stimulus programs, then our revenues are going to take another dip. And if revenues take another dip, we are liable to increase our deficit.

Maclean's: Would you let interest rates continue at a high level?

Munro: I would not let the Canadian dollar fall much below where it is now. I might let it come down to 75 cents (U.S.) but I would not let it go any further than that. If that means that we have to let interest rates rise to stop any



WORLD

Iran's ominous reprisal

The crippled Kuwaiti oil tanker *Bahra* limped into its home port last week with a gaping five-square-yard hole in its starboard side. The damage—sustained in an air attack—was relatively light, but the political repercussions were global in their impact. It was the second attack on a Kuwaiti vessel in two days and it signaled a new and ominous phase in the 16-month-old Iran-Iraq war. Both Kuwait and the United States swiftly placed the responsibility on Iran, which confirmed that it had ordered its aircraft to strike at the *Bahra*. Tehran also acknowledged launching a later raid on the 292,000-ton Saudi super-tanker *Yamha Pride*, set about only 55 miles from the Saudi oil port of Ras Tanura. Tehran declared that its attacks were reprisals for repeated Iraqi air strikes on vessels taking vital Iranian oil exports through the Persian Gulf. Warned the speaker of the Iranian parliament, Hajjostad Hashemi Rafsanjani: "Either the gulf will

be safe for all or for no one."

In Washington, state department spokesman John Hughes said that the Iranian attacks represented a dangerous escalation of the war. And the White House reiterated a pledge by President Ronald Reagan last February that the United States would keep open the narrow Strait of Hormuz that connects the gulf with the Indian Ocean. To that end, the United States alerted five warships in the gulf area at their base in Bahrain. The gulf's strategic value is high: Every day 85 million barrels of oil, more than 35 per cent of the non-Communist world's supply, pass through it. But Pentagon officials have said that it is almost impossible to prevent hit-and-run air

attacks. Both governments and oil traders are alarmed at the development. Warned a European diplomat in Kuwait: "It is really more a question of psychology in shipping circles than military security. How many selective attacks [will there be] on ships before all traffic stops voluntarily?"

When the beleaguered Iraqi regime of President Saddam Hussein first began attacking tankers three months ago in order to disrupt Tehran's cash flow, the Iranians threatened to retaliate. But Baghdad chose to ignore the warning, and Iraqi raids have steadily increased in the past two weeks. Hussein's pilots have damaged three ships, mostly with deadly Exocet missiles fired from an

Khomeini's warning



Tankers loading at Kharg Island jetty (left); Iranian naval vessel on patrol: 'Either the gulf will be safe for all or for no one'

far as 30 miles away. In contrast, the Iranians last week used small speedier planes to pinpoint targets for their less-legendary bombers.

The Iranian reprisals triggered immediate financial repercussions. The international spot market for oil

jumped by as much as \$1 to \$25 last week, and economists warned that a prolonged crisis in the gulf could shave the official price to as much as \$36 from its present level of \$26 a barrel. Then, in the nervous Tokyo money market, the U.S. dollar rose sharply against the

Japanese yen. Japan, as well as Western Europe and many Third World countries, relies principally on oil imported from the gulf area to supply its industries. Canada imports as much as 29 per cent of its domestic petroleum oil from the gulf, but the United States imports only eight per cent of its total from the region.

Insurance premiums—usually pegged at one per cent of a vessel's hull value—trebled in London last week for all ships using Kharg Island, Iran's main oil terminal in the gulf. That increased the cost of insurance coverage for a two-week voyage by the biggest 280,000-ton-plus tankers to \$200,000. The Kuwaiti Oil Tanker Co. denied a report that it had suspended operations in the gulf. But Norwegian ship owners said that they had decided to suspend sailings into the gulf indefinitely. Oil receivers said that shipping companies might be forced to ensure sailings if the situation worsened. Some owners, however, were prepared to risk losing their vessels because of the high cost of keeping them tied up in port. Already, some tanker crews are refusing to sail close to the war zone at the head of the gulf. As a result, ship-owners are enlisting so-called cowboy seamen who can earn as much as \$5,000 for six to 10 days' work aboard tankers moving



through the danger area.

Diplomats said that, along with Iraq, Kuwait seems to be a prime target for the Iranian new campaign at sea. Kuwait has supplied Iraq with, at times, \$2 million a day in aid and allowed it to use the port of Shuaiba to ship arms from the Soviet Union. One shipping expert described last week's attack on the Saudi supertanker as an example of last defiance even from the most influential Arab powers.

For their part, gulf leaders have admitted that they can do little to respond to the attacks. One option: to rely on U.S. naval power to guard the sea lanes. But Kuwait's Shakh Jaber al-Ahmed al-Sabah distrusts Washington after its military debacle in Lebanon. Saudi Arabia is the only member of the six-nation Gulf Cooperation Council, which also includes Oman, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and Qatar, with an air force capable of protecting the shipping lanes. Officials of the three-year-old GCC, which is both an economic and a military organization, will meet this week to discuss mounting a military response to the attacks. Although Washington has deployed special AWACS surveillance aircraft to the area to enhance the capability of the Saudi air force, Western diplomats said that without integrated regional air defense, protection will be difficult.

There is also increasing concern that the superpower will become involved. Warned Egyptian Foreign Minister Kamal Hassan Ali: "The obstruction of shipping has a negative impact on all efforts to settle the situation as it increases internationalization of the conflict." Although Washington officials acknowledged that the Pentagon had dispatched warships to the gulf, they said that none of the vessels was capable of providing the air support needed to protect shipping near the combat zone. At the same time, Washington appeared reluctant to take a direct military role in keeping the waterway open without the firm support of Japan, Western Europe and gulf states.

Still, even if the gulf is closed, oil industry officials predict that existing crude stock will buffer the West from immediate price shocks. Ulf Lantieri, secretary-general of the United Nations International Energy Agency, said that the world could turn to as many as three million barrels a day in excess production capacity outside of the gulf region. But most observers agree that the only real solution would be an end to the conflict between Iran and Iraq. But that seems unlikely in the near future. "All the recent peace efforts have failed," said one senior Kuwaiti shipping executive. "There is an awareness that the war is not going to stop for a long time to come." —BOB WHITNEY in RAVENNA

SWITZERLAND

An irrevocable 'nyet'

The Soviet Union gave a final "nyet" to the Los Angeles Olympics last Friday at an emergency meeting of the International Olympic Committee (IOC). The U.S. delegation had held out their hopes prior to the meeting in Lausanne, Switzerland, that the 19-nation, Soviet-led boycott of this summer's Games could be averted. That hope proved futile for the 1984 Olympics. But a U.S. proposal to ban future

Organizing Committee (IAOOC) was not living up to the Olympic charter as its security preparations for the Games. And in a televised press conference in the Soviet Union, Gromov went so far as to accuse the Reagan administration of conspiring to endanger Soviet athletes if they attended the Games. In response, the U.S. state department termed the Soviet complaints and accusations "a classic case of reciprocal de-



Games stadium in Los Angeles: 'wrapping a political decision in the Olympic flag'

political hypothesis, tailored in Lausanne, could save the Olympic movement if the Soviet Union and its Eastern bloc allies will eventually accept it. Musat Gromov, the head of the Soviet state committee for physical culture and sport, made it clear in Lausanne that the Soviet decision not to attend the Los Angeles Games was irrevocable. Still, at week's end the Soviet delegation sought guidance from Moscow on the longer term U.S. proposal.

William Simon, president of the U.S. Olympic committee, said his aim is suggesting a ban on boycotts was to "prevent the Games from being the victim of self-serving politicians." Indeed, the Los Angeles Games will be nothing more than a glorified international meet. IOC president Juan Samaranch predicted last week that as many as 40 of the 140 invited nations will follow Moscow's lead and not participate in July and August.

The Soviets last week reiterated their charges that the Los Angeles Olympic

tarian and twinning of facts to fit a particular Soviet line." For his part, Simon said that the Soviet charges were "nothing more than a thinly veiled attempt to wrap a political decision in the Olympic flag."

In making his case for a ban on future boycotts, Simon told 300 members in Lausanne that it was important for the Soviet Union and the United States to set an example by fulfilling an agreement as soon as possible. Other members of the Olympic movement could sign it later he said. But at week's end the London-based Institute for Strategic Studies noted that the dispute over the Olympics merely compounded other contentious issues. It added that U.S.-Soviet relations are at the lowest point since the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. That verdict offered little prospect that such last-ditch attempts to remove the Games from the realm of politics would have an early success.

—HEAL QUINN, with correspondents' reports

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Populists supporters in Quezon City, Manila; a remarkable outcome despite government supporters' efforts to rig the vote

THE PHILIPPINES

Marcos receives a stinging setback

By Ross Laver

When he called last week's National Assembly elections in the Philippines, President Ferdinand Marcos celebrated that victory by a few opposition candidates would give him enough a majority of democratic respectability. But as the results trickled in, it became obvious that the 68-year-old dictator had miscalculated. Roughly 50 per cent of the electorate cast ballots, and unofficial returns showed the opposition leading in races for 61 of the 181 seats at stake, with independents ahead in 25 others. In contrast, Marcos's New Society Movement (NSM) was winning in only 59 races and might have performed even worse if its followers had not resorted to widespread voting fraud. The standstills at dissolution of the assembly left NSM members and 13 opposition members.

The opposition's strong showing surprised its leaders. The results, said Salvador Laurel, the 54-year-old head of a 13-party coalition of opposition groups called the United Nationalist Demo-

cratic Organization (UNIDO), were "beyond our hopes and wildest imagination."

Still, Marcos himself was not in any immediate danger of losing his grip on power—as the presidency. For one thing, the country's constitution allows him to hold 17 positions in the 500-seat legislature by appointment—more than enough to ensure a continued majority for NSM members. For another, Marcos retains the power to dissolve the assembly at any time and rule by decree. But (most) Western analysts judged last week's results as an unusually significant expression of the popular will, compared with earlier elections. They also described it as a frank expression of nonconfidence in Marcos's 16-year-old regime. "It's a good lesson," said one

U.S. diplomat in Manila. "And I hope it has been learned."

Indeed, the outcome was remarkable in light of the efforts that Marcos's followers made to rig the election. Throughout the 45-day campaign party activists wooed voters with hastily arranged food relief, pre-poll and judgments of development projects. More open attempts at bribery involved the distribution of cash in plain white envelopes, known as "goodies," to local officials who agreed to use their influence on behalf of the NSM. Meanwhile, the government kept a tight rein on the media, at one point cancelling a phone-in television show that was to have featured José Diok, a popular leader of an opposition faction that urged a boycott at the elections. Instead,

voters were treated to blank television screens for 30 minutes.

By election day the pro-Marcos forces had abandoned any pretense of fairness. In San Miguel, two hours' drive north of the capital, opposition candidate José Yap, for one, filed a protest after officers from the civilian home defense forces went from house to house

armed with M-16 rifles, threatening people who failed to show up to vote for the NSM. "You cannot blame them, they are barrio people," said Yap, referring to voters who succumbed to the officers' tactics. "These soldiers are assigned here to protect these people. How can they disobey their orders?" Reports from other regions indicated that intimidation was widespread. In Miravi City, on the southern island of Mindanao, a pro-demonstration strongman in the largely Muslim area visited a military police, ostensibly a "request for peace," to promote his candidates. "I didn't like seeing that," said one diplomat. "It's still martial law down there." In all, the military said, 121 people died in election violence, many in clashes between security forces and what the government referred to as "communist rebels" attempting to disrupt the voting. In Manila a 1980 campaign aide was found dead with a bullet between his eyes and his hands tied behind his back. Party officials said the aide, Eusebio Cordero, had defied warnings by "armed goons" not to work on election day.

Elsewhere, Marcos's supporters resorted to ballot stuffing. In one precinct in central Manila, vote counting was already under way when several men burst into the room and replaced a stack of ballots with forms made out for the NSM candidate, Benilde Zamora. "Of course, yes, I was frightened," said Rocky Mayuga, an elementary school teacher assigned to help count the votes. The episode was later reported to the National Citizens Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL), an independent watchdog body, whose officials sent observers and contractors to probe. In another instance, a NAMFREL observer, Raulito Endings, was let into at least 10 voters go from precinct to precinct casting ballots for the government candidate. Said Endings: "I complained, but they just went ahead." Voting officials claimed that they claimed was no credible mix on voters' fingers at each polling station in an effort to prevent such abuses. But the ink could be easily removed with soap and water or, in some cases, rubbing alcohol.

Still, most analysts agreed that the polling was relatively orderly compared to past Philippine elections. "I think our presence in the precincts helped to make the elections more honest," said NAMFREL chairman José Concepcion, a

wealthy businessman from Manila. But even Concepcion insisted that if voting security had been truly effective, "The borderline races would have gone to the opposition rather than to the NSM."

In one race NSM candidate Ruperto Gutierrez against former beauty queen Aurora Pijuan-Manotoc, also known by



her nickname A-a-A, in the Manila 6th district of Makati. The victory Manotoc is a particular irritant to the opposition because her former husband, Tony, is now married to Marcos's daughter, Imee, who was herself elected to the assembly from the family's home province, Ilocos Norte. Early returns in Makati showed Gutierrez and Manotoc landed in a narrow race, but the

balance tilted sharply in favor of Gutierrez after results arrived from 186 precincts in which NAMFREL had no observers. Claimed Manotoc: "They [government officials] are doing everything in their power to cheat."

As the counting continued, Laurel instructed third-party supporters to watch the process "like hawks" and to appreciate, using force if necessary, any official caught cheating. Added Laurel: "We realize this is fraught with danger, but we have no choice but to protect our votes." Some opposition spokesmen accused the government's Commission on Elections of deliberately delaying the counting in order to allow Marcos or his proxies to tamper with the results. Indeed, at least one prominent opposition figure—Aguino (Rita) Aquino, the younger brother of murdered opposition leader Benigno Aquino—refused to join in the celebrations over the preliminary returns. "I have full confidence in the cheating ability of Marcos," he said. "Let us wait for the official result."

Aguino himself supported the movement to boycott the elections. At week's end it was still unclear what effect the opposition's renewed strength will have on Filipino politics. During the campaign Laurel vowed re-portedly that UNIDO would move to impeach Marcos. But there is virtually no chance that it could get the two-thirds majority needed to approve an impeachment motion. Still, the opposition's surprising show of strength—including the defeat of two senior cabinet members, senator general Estelita Mendoza and agriculture minister Arturo Tugano—raised optimism among members that it might overcome the divisions that in the past have prevented it from offering a real challenge to Marcos.

But the election centered at least one important milestone for Marcos. Ever since the August 1983 assassination of Aquino upon his return to Manila from three years of voluntary exile in the United States, the Filipino dictator has been under attack at home and abroad over his repressive leadership. U.S. officials, in particular, have expressed concern that frustration would push the moderate opposition toward an alliance with the communist New People's Army, a 7,000-strong guerrilla force which has settled in every province of the archipelago. Now Marcos can point to his opponents' electoral success and claim that the Philippines are on the road to genuine democracy. That, in turn, may help his grip more firmly and that the NSM's defeat, in a result, last week's election victory by the opposition may help to grating the regime of the man many Filipinos want to depose.

With Les Newkirk in Manila.

Aurora Pijuan-Manotoc



Imee Marcos-Manotoc: intimidation

her nickname A-a-A, in the Manila 6th district of Makati. The victory Manotoc is a particular irritant to the opposition because her former husband, Tony, is now married to Marcos's daughter, Imee, who was herself elected to the assembly from the family's home province, Ilocos Norte. Early returns in Makati showed Gutierrez and Manotoc landed in a narrow race, but the



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Reagan with Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, a formidable incumbent

THE UNITED STATES

Reagan's re-election chances

By Michael Posner

Just before the 1980 U.S. presidential election a young Republican congressman from Michigan boasted to a service club in the Midwest that Ronald Reagan had prepared for his TV debate with then-President Jimmy Carter by asking briefing papers "Hatched" from the White House. The congressman was David Stockman, now Reagan's budget director, who helped coach Reagan for the debate. Last week, 3½ years later, a federal judge said that "briefing-gate"—as the U.S. press quickly dubbed it—bores "as uncanny resemblance to Watergate" (the 1974 campaign scandal that drove Richard Nixon from office), and ordered Attorney General William French Smith to appoint a special prosecutor.

The judicial order, which the justice department immediately appealed, said that allegations of wrongdoing in 1980 by senior Reagan administration officials were "sufficiently specific and credible" to justify a preliminary investigation. Judge Harold Greene thus challenged the justice department's own eight-month probe, which concluded in February that the case did not warrant inquiry, even though Carter White House documents were found among the Reagan papers.

Greene's order was important because of the potential impact on this year's presidential election. Reagan administration officials have admitted receiving material from the Carter campaign in 1980, but it is not yet clear whether disgruntled Carter staff passed on the documents or well-placed Reagan agents took part in an organized effort to steal them. Two of Reagan's principal appointees—CIA director William Casey and Chief of Staff James Baker—have issued directly conflicting stories. Baker recalls receiving Carter campaign data from Casey; then Reagan's campaign chairman. Casey denies ever having seen the material. Other administration officials, including presidential counselor Edwin Meese, claim that they do not remember how confidential materials ended up in their cabinets.

Meese is already under investigation by another special prosecutor, Washington lawyer Ja-

son Stein, for his possible role in the briefing book affair, as well as for irregularities in his financial disclosures forms, which all government appointees must file. His nomination as attorney general awaits the result of that inquiry. A post-Watergate law requires the justice department to appoint a special prosecutor when there is preliminary evidence of wrongdoing by senior government officials.

The appointment of yet another special prosecutor is likely to focus public attention on what Democratic presidential front-runner Walter Mondale calls "the sinews fiasco"—the bewildered personal records of more than two dozen Reagan administration officials. Indeed, many Democrats believe that briefing-gate—as well as other economic and political issues—will make Reagan more vulnerable to an election upset in November.

The Democrats concede that Reagan will be a formidable opponent. His personal popularity rating is high. He is a consummate television performer. And he has the power, as an incumbent, to influence events—and voter perceptions—during the campaign. Most experts expect economic issues to dominate the presidential race and suggest that Reagan's successful record on inflation, unemployment, and, until recently, interest rates in his strongest core States, for one, has predicted that Reagan would win in November in a close vote. "I wouldn't bet the ranch on it," the former president told a gathering of newspaper editors in Washington, "but I would bet the main house. And, unless the economy goes down, I wouldn't even bet the outhouse on Mondale."

But the Democrats have already written a victory scenario, with Mondale leading the ticket. First, registered Democrats outnumber Republicans by more than 2 to 1. If the party can mobilize its traditional voting bases—white, black, Jews—the nominee can coast on a maximum 40 per cent of the national vote. That figure could be substantially higher this year because of the intense efforts—mainly by Jesse Jackson supporters—to register new voters among mainly Democratic blacks, Hispanics, women and other minorities.

At the same time, Democrats argue that Reagan's win over Carter in 1980 was much

More conflicting stories



Edwin Meese



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narrower than it seemed in many states, including some with large electoral college votes, Reagan's plurality was razor-thin. In seven states—Massachusetts, Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee and Arkansas—he won by 15,000 votes at least. Nor will Reagan have the benefit this fall of a strong third-party candidate to divide the anti-Reagan vote. In 1980, successful Republican John Anderson ran as an independent, siphoning hundreds of thousands of votes away from Jimmy Carter.

On foreign and domestic policy issues, Mondale supports the further opportunities for gains. They claim that Reagan has no significant diplomatic achievements to trumpet and point to Washington's frosty relations with the Soviet Union as one area in which Reagan has failed. At the same time, many Americans remain worried and confused by the situation in Central America. Although the administration is proud of its military victory in Grenada, Democrats argue that it was offset by Reagan's failure in Lebanon. Similarly, Reagan was able to begin deployment of new tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, but he was unable to produce an arms control agreement with the Kremlin that would have slowed critics in Europe and elsewhere about his security on disarmament.

At home the economy's robust recovery from the 1982 recession has shown few signs of slowing. But the very strength of expansion and the treasury's need to finance the war, \$200-billion federal deficit have recently increased interest rates. In an auction of three-month treasury bills last week rates hit 9.95 per cent—the highest in two years. And economic prospects the Henry Kaufman of Wall Street's Salomon Bros. predict that the prime rate will soar to 15 per cent by 1985. Any upward movement in the unemployment index—currently eight per cent—before November could also do substantial damage to Reagan's case.

As a result, Democrats are seeing a watershed year on economic indicators. The bread-and-butter issues of jobs, wages and inflation are especially important among blue-collar workers. A large percentage of them defied their union leaders in 1980 by voting for Reagan. No Democrat can hope to win the White House if they do so again. The correct policy inflation that Reagan would beat either Mondale or his rival for the Democratic nomination, Senator Gary Hart of Colorado, handily. But, according to many Democratic politicians, including Sen. Anthony Meyer (D-Vt.), the House vote on Thursday the Republicans took early to despair. Said Cassano: "Polls don't mean a thing until Labor Day. If Mondale is within 10 points of Reagan on Sept. 1, he'll win." ◇

THE UNITED STATES

The MX wins a reprieve

The anti-drafting was fierce for nearly a week as supporters and opponents of the controversial MX missile leaked accumulated members of the House of Representatives. And when the vote was tallied last week, President Ronald Reagan had won only a narrow (229-194) and qualified victory. The House rejected a proposal to kill MX funding in the 1985 federal budget. But it also rejected Reagan's request to fund 36 new missiles. Instead, it adopted a compromise measure that

solve their differences in conference.

The president argues that the MX represents an important bargaining chip in arms control negotiations. Indeed, Representative Les Aspin (D-Wis.), architect of last week's compromise, argued that scrapping the missile would effectively reward Moscow for walking out of Geneva. Opponents of the MX insisted that the missile, deployed in vulnerable sites, would raise East-West tensions. Said Representative Michael Levey (D-Wash.): "Our willingness to



Representative Aspin with colleagues: here of sending the wrong signal to Moscow

will allow the Pentagon to build 16 new MXs beginning next April.

The delay, lawmakers hope, will help persuade the Soviet Union to return to arms control talks in Geneva, which Moscow broke off last November. If negotiations resume before next spring, Congress could prevent authorization of MX funding. On the other hand, if the talks remain in limbo, production of the 29-warhead weapon—the first modernization of the U.S. strategic missile arsenal in 20 years—will almost certainly proceed.

Reagan, Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger and National Security Advisor Robert McFarlane took turns pressing the pro-missile case before the House vote. On Thursday the Republicans-controlled Senate followed the House course by approving funding for 21 missiles, less than had been expected. The House and Senate will have to re-

negotiate their differences in conference. The president argues that the MX represents an important bargaining chip in arms control negotiations. Indeed, Representative Les Aspin (D-Wis.), architect of last week's compromise, argued that scrapping the missile would effectively reward Moscow for walking out of Geneva. Opponents of the MX insisted that the missile, deployed in vulnerable sites, would raise East-West tensions. Said Representative Michael Levey (D-Wash.): "Our willingness to

deploy them sends the dangerous signal that we are prepared to use them or lose them in a crisis." Others noted that approving the first 21 missiles last year and not buying the Soviets at the table.

Still, Aspin observed that "the talks will one day begin again." When that happens, he added, Washington will need "some leverage to get the Soviets to talk seriously about their MX equivalents—the SS-16 and the SS-20." The White House backed Aspin's amendment reluctantly, fanned with a choice between 15 missiles or none at all. And many of the uncommitted members who eventually fell in behind the president did so with grave reservations. "Nobody is terribly enthusiastic about the MX," said Representative Judd Pritchard (R-Wash.). But slashing the budget, many felt, would send the wrong message to Moscow.

—MICHAEL POSNER



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B.C. Tel operators, Kootenayburg, a new cut-rate long-distance service that worries the established phone monopolies

By Jack McGowan

Two Vancouver-based phone companies have reached out and struck a nerve in the giant B.C. Telephone Co. by threatening its monopoly on long-distance calls. And the rest of the nation's telephone industry is monitoring the situation attentively. The unprecedented fight for the B.C.-U.S. long-distance market started when Longnet Telecommunications and Can-Net Communications challenged B.C. Tel's rates by offering Vancouver-area businesses and consumers reductions of 10 per cent and up on calls to U.S. destinations. And aggressive new competition elsewhere in Canada support the move as a reason to open competition on long-distance calls, which are now the preserve of Canada's 11 major provincial and federally regulated phone monopolies. Customers of the new services also applauded. Said Michael Kootenayburg, Longnet's 36-year-old president: "People are really excited about it."

The companies have managed to offer the lower rates by routing calls from Vancouver through a switching system in Washington state, less than 100 km away. Calls are then linked up with

lower priced services in the U.S. market. To use the system, a customer simply picks up his phone and dials a number to reach a switching station in Washington which then completes the call. The customer pays B.C. Tel 20 cents a minute for using its line to the switching system but then pays a cut rate for the completion of the call by the U.S. company offering the lower rate. A subscriber to Longnet, which began operations this week—Can-Net has been operating since April—can make a 6-4-minute call to Anchorage, Alaska, for 16, B.C. Tel's charge is \$11.66 for six minutes. A longer call to Los Angeles could save about \$1 off B.C. Tel's \$5 charge for the same call.

B.C. Tel made a hasty application to the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) to prohibit the two companies from using B.C. Tel lines. But the CRTC asked for public submissions on the issue, which will likely be considered at October hearings.

Both Longnet's Kootenayburg and Can-Net president Alan Harris are convinced that they have freed the opening shot in a campaign to bend the monopolies of federally regulated B.C. Tel and Bell Canada, a subsidiary of

Montreal-based Bell Canada Enterprises. They believe that if other companies enter the fray, the issue could escalate into a cut-throat fight, which will hit the established phone giants right in their profit centres. Already, Longnet says that if its service attracts enough business, it might establish other operations across Canada.

But any such move would be closely watched by other potential competitors, including CNP Telecommunications, a Toronto-based company that provides a voice and data network to business users. CNP has been a leading advocate of wide-open competition in the long-distance market, and last year it applied to the CRTC for permission to begin a long-distance service between a number of cities in Ontario, British Columbia and Quebec. A CRTC hearing on that application is scheduled for October. Another potential competitor is Toronto-based Canadian Telecommunications Group (CTG), which already is leasing and selling telephone equipment. Canadian CTO president Edward Levin, a vocal proponent of long-distance competition, said, "We have the facilities, the expertise and the underwriters waiting in the wings." Although Levin says he would match the sort of opera-

tion pioneered in Vancouver, he would prefer to see a rigid ruling that permitted open competition in Canada.

Understandably, B.C. Tel and Bell Canada are reluctant to give up their hold on the lucrative long-distance market, which they have used to subsidize losses on local calls. In answer to the demands for long-distance competition, they have called for the licensing of Local Measured Service, under which they would charge users according to the length and frequency of local calls. That issue, too, must be decided by the CRTC.

But whatever the CRTC rules on that question, the system started by the Vancouver firms is a much more immediate and troublesome problem. In response to the firms' new services, B.C. Tel threatened to ask the CRTC to authorize increases in local rates to compensate for lost long-distance revenues. According to William McCourt, B.C. Tel's vice-president of network marketing, long-distance profits now constrain local rates. Said McCourt, "The loss in local calls last year was \$50 million, and that was all offset by long-distance revenues." Bell Canada is also very concerned about the potential spread of the new services. Said Donald Cracksback, a Bell vice-president: "It is a very real and present threat."

Both Longnet and Can-Net believe that they will beat B.C. Tel on legal grounds. Their lawyers argue that the revenue does not break any Canadian laws. Kootenayburg contends that because the calls are transferred to a different company in the United States, and not in Canada, the issue falls outside the jurisdiction of Canadian authorities.

Hudson Jentich, a professor of law at the University of Toronto, agreed. He said the upstart firms' legal advice is sound and even if the CRTC balks the results operation, the public would object. Said Jentich: "It's hardly an anecdotal activity for people to try to get the cheapest rate they can for their long-distance calls through the United States." Jentich agreed that it was unlikely that the move to foreign exchanges in the United States would trouble Canadian companies. Indeed, he pointed out that the stream of Canadian airline passengers flowing south to U.S. airports poses a tax advantage of up to 10 per cent. "It's a current prompted Transport Minister Lloyd Axworthy to propose deregulation of the Canadian industry earlier this month," said Jentich. "It must be realized that the electronic boundary is even more porous." The two Vancouver firms are hoping to take profitable advantage of that situation.

With Donna Jackson in Vancouver



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RECEIVED/MAY 19 1991



The finance minister: an awkward silence fell over the officials in the glittering salon

Lalonde's defeat in Paris

The announcement betrayed no trace of the frantic behind-the-scenes jockeying that took place for months in international capitals. Midway through the annual two-day ministerial meeting the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in Paris last week, the session's Finnish chairman, Paavo Vapio, discreetly declared that the 24-nation body had selected its next secretary-general. The winner by consensus, 48-year-old French technocrat Jean-Claude Paye. When Vapio called for any votes of dissent, an awkward silence fell over the assembled dignitaries in the glittering, tapestried grand salon of the OECD's Chateau de la Mairie. The apparent candidacy had only been reached after another major contender—Canadian Finance Minister Marc Lalonde—gave up an intense fight for the job.

Lalonde had coveted the top job at the OECD, which co-ordinates the economic policies of the world's leading non-Communist industrialized nations. The post would have provided Lalonde with a prestigious career change after 17 years in federal politics. But despite a hectic campaign for Lalonde by Canadian diplomats in recent weeks, U.S. opposition to his candidacy and a last minute decision by a majority of European states to elect a European to the post defeated him.

Lalonde entered the race in April to succeed Renée Van Lennep, 66, who has served as secretary-general for the past 15 years. His candidacy for the post

broadened the choice from two bureaucrats—Paye and a poorly supported British entrant, Kenneth Cusack—to include politicians. When the ministers arrived in Paris last week, Paye and Lalonde were in a tight race. Canada claimed the backing of Norway, Sweden and Australia. But France boasted a bigger trump card: the support of the U.S. delegates.

In fact, French President François Mitterrand himself reportedly secured Washington's support for Paye's candidacy during a visit to the United States last March. Some experts speculated that as a trade-off, Paris had promised to make its criticism of U.S. fiscal policy. Carl Govers, financial editor of the Paris-based international Herald Tribune, described the U.S.-French deal as "the socialist alliance." Off the record, U.S. officials hinted that they opposed Lalonde because, for them, he was the personification of Ottawa's controversial, interventionist economic policies, including the National Energy Program.

Despite the odds, Canadian ambassador to the OECD, William Jenkins, had lobbied fervently for Lalonde among the other delegations in Paris. And throughout OECD sessions, Canadian diplomats busily called on governments to make Lalonde's case. But in the end, these efforts proved unequal to U.S. opposition, and Lalonde withdrew his name. For his part, Lalonde accepted his loss gracefully. "I wasn't really surprised. I hadn't packed my bags yet."

—MARK McDONALD in Paris

The crisis at Continental

Twenty-eight U.S. banks and federal regulators last week stretched a record-breaking \$7.5 billion (U.S.) safety net under Continental Illinois Corp., the ninth-largest bank in the country. The rescue package, orchestrated by Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. and backed by Washington's Federal Reserve Board, was designed to halt a "run" on the Chicago-based banking giant (current assets: \$48 billion) by nervous depositors—many of them large Japanese and European banks and corporations. The run started two weeks ago when rumors circulated that Continental was in financial difficulty.

The rescue package dwarfed those used to shore up such troubled U.S. banks as Seafirst Corp. in 1983 and First Pennsylvania Corp. in 1980. By Friday, a Continental Illinois spokesman claimed the bank's situation was "stable." But its future remained in doubt. Though the unprecedented funding package offers an interim solution, Continental faces an unappealing array of options: selling off, liquidating or trying to limp back to financial health over the next several years.

Continental's woes stem from the 1982 failure of Penn Square Bank in Oklahoma City, which "held" the Chicago bank roughly \$1 billion in loans that Penn had made to oil and gas companies. Many of the Penn Square loans proved to be worthless, and the resulting losses shook confidence in Continental and forced it to pay above-normal rates for its own borrowing. Continental's management eventually sold off profitable operations to help maintain its annual dividend at 22 per share.

The fact that Continental required rescuing will do little to restore investors' shaken confidence or help it find a buyer. Most of the largest U.S. banks have their own worrisome loans, mainly to Third World nations—an area in which Continental is heavily exposed as well. Foreign banks may also prove to be reluctant saviors. Most overseas banks have based their U.S. operations in either New York or California, and U.S. regulators may prevent them from establishing new branches in Illinois. If so, buyer emerges, the Federal Reserve could face a tough choice: either to find new means of keeping Continental afloat once the safety net is withdrawn or to permit the largest bank failure in U.S. history.

—LENNY GLASSER in New York

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Seftel: federal prosecutors allege that he ran a Jekyll-and-Hyde operation

A tax scandal on Wall Street

Federal prosecutors called it a kind of Jekyll-and-Hyde operation, a respectable investment firm by day and a hive of illegal activity by night. The founder of New York-based Sentinel Government Securities, 44-year-old Michael Seftel, stood accused of the largest tax fraud in U.S. history. In opening arguments at his trial, which continued last week, U.S. government lawyers alleged that Seftel as managing partner of Sentinel masterminded the creation of \$130 million worth of phony tax deductions for himself and a list of limited partners in Sentinel, including such celebrities as television producer Norman Lear, actor Sidney Poitier and composer Henry Mancini. Defense attorneys countered that the firm and the founder are innocent.

Until November, 1981, Seftel's company appeared to be an ordinary firm which dealt in government securities such as treasury bills. Sentinel attracted investors with the promise that they could write off a minimum \$150,000 investment from time over by using so-called "tax straddles." To carry out a tax straddle, a trader would first buy, for example, three-month treasury bills, then later intentionally sell them at a loss. The investors, who were limited partners in Sentinel, could then claim a share of that loss against their income for the year. At the same time, the firm could buy long-term notes of similar value, hold them into the next year and then sell for a profit.

But the investors could continue to avoid paying taxes on their long-term gains by performing new tax straddles each year.

If that was all that Sentinel did, Seftel—one profiled in *The New York Times* as one of Wall Street's brightest young stars—would be just another successful trader. But the government, after raiding Sentinel's offices in 1982 on an insider tip, charged that the firm carried the tax-straddle scheme one step further. According to U.S. attorney Charles Garberry, one of the prosecutors handling the case, Sentinel never actually bought or sold many of the securities it said it had handled. At the trial the prosecutors alleged that employees traded nights in cross-generational transactions. In the words of the indictment, they "selected treasury security issues and prices from newspapers and created transactions for customer accounts," then worked with other trading houses to acquire the false documents.

The government's first witness, Sally Schelby, a 30-year-old former Sentinel employee who received immunity from prose-

cution in return for her testimony, provided dramatic support for the charges. She said that as a trader for Sentinel, she never dealt in real securities. Instead, she stated under oath, employees sham a buy or sell from firms like *The Wall Street Journal*, picked a price between "bid" and "asked," and then calculated a loss to be entered on the record of customer trades. Schelby said that the same procedure was used to create profits in the form of a capital gain.

Subsequent witnesses, most of whom were also former Sentinel employees testifying under immunity agreements, provided similar accounts. As well, John Lamm, a government witness and former president of Gilt & Duffee Securities Inc., pleaded guilty to having "conspired" for a fee to "provide [trading] commissions to Sentinel to support \$67 million in Sentinel's long-term capital gains."

Although the lawyers defending Seftel have not yet presented their case, they made it clear during cross-examination that they intended to challenge the credibility of witnesses who made deals in order to prove Seftel's attorney, Paul Vinarsky, claims that his client is innocent. Before the trial began, Vinarsky said, "We believe that none of the conduct that is at issue in this case was unlawful at the time." Last week, however, he declined further comment, saying only, "This is not a Hollywood trial."

Indeed, there is no evidence that the high-profile celebrities involved with Sentinel were aware that the trading "scheme" on their tax returns were fictitious. But some of them have suffered financial losses because of the affair. After the government raided Sentinel's offices, Seftel sent a letter to the 88 limited partners outlining the firm's legal difficulties. He asked them to buy their shares in the Sentinel for 10 per cent of their original investment. All but eight

of the 88 investors accepted the offer, which left Seftel in control of most of Sentinel's assets. But the other investors told Seftel, and he reportedly bought them out on more favorable terms.

If the government fails to prove its case against Seftel, he may be able to resume his career. But if his early ambition was to make a name for himself as Wall Street's new success—JAMES FLEMING, with David Landoff in *New York*.

Mancini: innocent partner



ALAN FLEMING

The fight over import quotas

By James Fleming

Canada's Japanese car dealers were outraged. Consumers stood in suffer higher prices. But major domestic automakers and union spokesmen were unsympathetic. The reason: a survey released by the Automobile Importers of Canada last week revealed that, because of import quotas on Japanese cars, sales of these vehicles were 20 per cent lower in April, 1986, than in April, 1985. Even though spring sales began boosted sales of Canadian-made cars by some per cent during April, the market share of Japanese sales fell to less than 15 per cent, the lowest level since December, 1979. Declared Robert Attrell, president of the Canadian Association of Japanese Automobile Dealers, "It's horrendous, a travesty of justice."

The sales figures starkly illustrated the impact of import quotas on the 807 dealerships belonging to Attrell's association and the 8,500 people they employ across Canada. The figures added urgency to their ongoing campaign to eliminate import quotas under which only 180,000 Japanese cars entered Canada in the 18 months that ended March 31. But that effort faces little prospect of immediate success. Domestic automakers, parts manufacturers and auto union spokesmen, representing 150,000 industry employees, argue strenuously for an extension of the quotas to give the industry time to upgrade its productivity and profits. Still, that will mean continued hardship for Japanese car dealers and for consumers who may pay higher prices for all cars because of protectionist measures.

In Tokyo last week, federal trade officials attempted to negotiate a one-year extension of the quota system. According to International Trade Minister Gerald Regan, Canada wants the 150,000 cars continued until 1986. On the other hand, Japanese officials have said they favor a 50-per-cent increase in that quota, which would bring it to 191,000 cars. Already, Tokyo has agreed with Washington that its car exports to the United States will increase by 10 per cent to 1.85 million vehicles during the year that began in April. In fact, an external affairs official said only that a pact had been reached.

The negotiations have been complicated by Canada's insistence that in return for a relaxation of the quotas Japanese companies must increase their direct investment in Canada. In fact, the pressure has had limited success. Last week Honda Motor Co. officials in Tokyo confirmed reports that the firm intends to build a \$100-million

assembly plant in Canada—probably in Ontario.

By attempting to extend the import quotas into their fourth year, Ottawa has come down on the side of the domestic industry. The reason, according to a federal official, is straightforward—the fear that Japan could flood the Canadian market with cars it cannot sell to other countries with import barriers in place. Essentially, Ottawa believes that the domestic auto industry and the voters that rely on it, from steel to glass, play such an important role in Canada's economy that their needs must take precedence over the



Made assembly line car dealers were outraged about a sharp fall in sales

complaints of those who will suffer from import quotas.

The benefits of quotas to the North American industry are indisputable. The Big Three automakers in both Canada and the United States recorded record profits last year. In the United States, profits totaled \$6.6 billion (U.S.). In Canada, Ford announced a \$225-million profit, after a \$180-million loss in 1985. General Motors had a record profit of \$678 million, up from a loss of \$71 million in 1985—putting it ahead of Canadian Pacific Ltd. as Canada's largest company in terms of sales—and Chrysler achieved a profit of \$139 million, compared to \$17 million in 1985. According to Arvid Jorgens, a Detroit-based industry analyst, import quotas added one per cent to the industry's net profits last year. But he argued that the consumer suffered because the increased competition from Japanese vehicles al-

lowed North American dealers to add about \$200 to the average cost of all cars sold. Said Jorgens, "The consumer has lost on this round of protection."

For their part, industry spokesmen argued that import quotas are necessary in the short term to counter the advantages that Japanese producers enjoy, such as lower wages and more efficient production methods. Experts estimate that Japanese cars cost about \$1,500 less to produce than North American vehicles. Ford Canada spokesman Robert Serré also pointed out that "over the past five years, although Ford suffered sales of \$566 million in losses in Canada, it invested more than \$1.2 billion in Canadian operations, while the Japanese invested

practically nothing." In the long term, the domestic industry favors legislation requiring 60-per-cent Canadian content in Japanese imports.

But for Japanese car dealers import quotas are evil that must be eliminated immediately, for the sake of Japanese auto dealers—and for the sake of consumers. To convince Canadians that import quotas are ill-advised, Attrell's organization has mounted an intense media advertising campaign. The efforts may be having an effect. In a survey to be released this week by the Laurier Institute for Business and Economic Studies in Waterloo, Ont., researchers found that only 52 per cent of Canadians surveyed favored quotas while 48 per cent opposed them. That was not an overwhelming endorsement. Said Attrell, "We want Canadians clearly to realize the auto sales and the Big Three automakers." ☐



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The bold creation of opportunity

By Peter C. Newman

The history of Canada's Indians is commonly written off as a long march backward, documenting their loss of domains over a continent and its resources. In fact, it is a delicate balance of people on the leading edge of genocide, allowing their way of life so that they might endure. At first, they had to back the white man's system to survive, then some of them tried to overthrow the system to create their own power base. Now, they are learning to work within that system—and the results could be startling.

Nowhere on earth has a modern state come to reasonable accommodation with its indigenous peoples, accepting their land and yet recognizing their sovereignty. We have a chance of doing just that, and the new group of Indian leaders across the country is pushing hard to make it happen. What they want politically is to negotiate for the constitutional rights of self-government, becoming accountable to their own people instead of to an inefficient and costly Indian Affairs department. "They deserve welfare to keep them passive as opposed to funding to help them live a new life," says Alan Pratt, legal adviser to the Assembly of First Nations. "There is a new group of sophisticated and passionate leaders in the Indian community who made their presence felt during the recent constitutional conferences. They made a significant impression with their well-organized and pragmatic approach, and never lost sight of their needs."

The political push has started already, about 50 federal ridings have been identified as targets where the native vote could exercise a swing effect in the next election. But the Indians' economic impact is more difficult to measure.

Last week in Winnipeg the National Indians Business Association held its annual meeting, and more than 400 delegates turned up. Nine thousand are 650 members—native businessmen running everything from country stores at reservations to major real estate developments. One of the latter is Ron Derickson of Kelowna, B.C., who recently joined the board of Calgary's Norland Bank. Steve Brant, NIB's executive vice-president, says the association acts as "a voice for native businessmen, to help them across the key players in both the private and public sectors." Derickson, who is a chief of the Westbank

Indian, contends that the Indians' main hurdle is "to regain their confidence, to accept self-discipline and to resolve the problems characteristic of running a business without giving up too easily."

Favorable news for the future of Canada's Indians is that Murray Kelland, one of the country's best-connected and most enlightened philanthropists, has taken on the chairmanship of the Canadian Council for Native Business. Kelland



Kelland: "we have to be better"

for, who built Shoppers Drug Mart into a \$1-billion drugstore chain (before selling to Imasco for \$40 million), is ready to devote a lot of his time and considerable energy to helping build a bridge between Canada's private business sector and Indian entrepreneurs. To spearhead on, David Smith, the minister responsible for small business, has budgeted \$345 million under the Native Economic Development Program.

"It's important," Smith said in announcing the grant, "to keep in mind

the first rule of business, which is the element of risk. Native ventures assisted by this program will, of course, be subject to such financial risks, but the development of entrepreneurial skills among aboriginal people is the key objective of our investment strategy."

It's too early to know whether this ambitious scheme will work, but some Indians aren't willing to find out.

Typical of the new breed is Doug Cuthand, a 37-year-old Cree from Saskatchewan who is president of Sheno Development, a growing conglomerate owned by 48 Saskatchewan Indian bands. With profits set due to be distributed until its sixth year, the company continues to plow back its earnings into its working capital and now employs 117 people, 110 of them Indians. Annual sales are about \$6.5 million. Cuthand estimates that the mere fact of employing and training that many natives who were previously out of work amounts to a saving in public income support programs of nearly \$5 million. "Our investment opportunities with Sheno are growing at 134 per cent a year."

The Sheno group of companies includes a trucking line with 35 trailer units operating in the grainland area of North Saskatchewan, a security service run by Rob Irving, an Indian who spent 20 years in the RCMP, a national over-hauling operation for Indian bands setting up community services, a real estate subsidiary, and oil exploration. "Our investment agenda," Cuthand says, "is to get control over our own resources instead of just receiving royalties." He estimates that eight reservations in Saskatchewan have commercial oil pools. An independent oil law, a public relations firm and a satellite communication network are other areas he is exploring. "Despite the generally depressed economy," he says, "Sheno has demonstrated the premises is here is to be seized."

Last year, to test his managerial skills, Cuthand called in Thomas Brennan & Kellogg, the Toronto-based management consultants, to study his operations—and they couldn't suggest many improvements. "What we're attempting is to foster viable semi-independent profit centres by subsidizing them from the additional costs inherent in the developing Indian economy," says Cuthand, sounding as crisp as a Harvard star. "But when we're bidding on any job, we know that it's not good enough to be equal. We have to be better."

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Shepherd, aloof, aloof, unapproachable but craving

With its notorious blocks of streetwalkers—young, old, male, female and some in between—downtown Vancouver is an ideal location for *Trick Eyes*, the movie that director **William Segalo** is shooting about the pitfalls of prostitution. But his choice of **Gypsy Shepherd** as the leading girl seemed oddly inappropriate. Aloof, aloof and unapproachable, the 34-year-old former model made her acting debut in *The Last Picture Show*. That, and her subsequent roles in *Daisy Miller* and *The Heartbreak Kid*, earned her the reputation as the *Greeks Kelly* of the 1990s. Now, with a neckline that plumbs new depths, Shepherd has laid her *Wash* process image to rest. Before she traveled north to make the film, in which she stars opposite Canadian-born actor **William Shatner**, Shepherd spent a day cruising the streets of Los Angeles with members of the police department's vice squad. Noted Shepherd: "Researching this part was sometimes a frightening experience. Prostitution is a totally depressing business."

When the Montreal Expos fired pitcher **Ric Spaceman Lee** in 1982 for conduct unbecoming to a major-league player because he had spent the first eight innings of a game drinking in a nearby tavern, many fans lamented the fate of one of baseball's most colorful figures. After pitching

last winter for the *Laguardia* Tiberians in Vancouver, Lee, 37, joined the New Brunswick senior baseball league's *Moncton Mets* last week. Although he is keeping himself occupied as pitcher, first baseman, little league coach and character-in-residence, he has found time to chronicle his career in an autobiography. The title? Said Lee: "If **John Glenn**'s successful space career means he has 'the right stuff,' then I must have 'the wrong stuff.'" So that is what I called the book." Lee says he would like to return to the majors but has had no offers. And he readily admits that with *The Wrong Stuff* released last week, with its candid and unrepentant confessions, "there will be no chance at all."

When the top-selling Canadian rock band *The Parachute Club* played at Sheridan College of Applied Arts and Technology in Oakville, Ont., last week, it was far more than just another opening



Lee, writing about the 'wrong stuff'

performance for major-league **Lorraine Segato**. Says Segato, who dropped out of film studies at the college in 1978: "I remember saying on the first day of classes, 'If I can't make it in film, I'm going to do it in music.'" She has done so in spades. Since agent **Gary Young** discovered Segato and fellow-band members **Lauri Conger** and **Billy Brynna** in an after-hours club in Toronto in 1982, the group's rise has been phenomenal. Its album, *The Parachute Club*, appeared in 1983 and has since sold 62,000 copies in Canada. The huge

success of the album single *Blue Up* helped the band to sweep four top prizes at the fifth annual *Black Music Awards* in Toronto last month. The Club uses its danceable Caribbean-influenced tunes to deliver political messages, a practice particularly evident in its latest video, *Blue Club*, where goatees, jungle globes and cardinals throw dice. Said Segato: "It is gorilla warfare. These people are the power brokers of the world today. This is what they look like—and act like."

—EILEEN SHENNA MCKAY

Conger, Segato and Brynna: using the medium to deliver a political message



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Miami's new Metrolink: the trains are capable of travelling at 70 m.p.h., but Miami's might not use them

TRANSPORTATION

A billion-dollar lure to commuters

The cars are sleek, stainless steel, air-conditioned and comfortable. But whether or not commuters will abandon alternative forms of transportation in order to make use of Miami's new Metrolink system, which opened last weekend, is still in doubt. The 56 electric-powered rail cars, capable of speeds of as much as 70 m.p.h., travel north from South Miami's residential area through the city's business centre to a predominantly black area known as Overtown. In December the city will extend the current 18-km overhead track to a 36-km route and it will add a second section of about the same length, running from east to west.

The new rail system is the most modern development in a wave of public transport breakthroughs that began in the 1970s in an attempt to break the automobile's choke hold on urban transit. San Francisco's Bay Area Rapid Transit started operations in 1972. Later, Washington, Atlanta and Baltimore constructed similar networks. Other cities, including Buffalo, Edmonton, Calgary, Portland, Ore., and Vancouver, chose so-called light-rail systems, essentially streamlined, more

efficient versions of the old streetcar.

But whatever the system, said John Neff, director of statistics for the American Public Transit Association, "Everybody is operating on the red." The library of issues (many at the expense of the U.S. government, which last year questioned more than \$3 billion to rapid transit projects) did not deter Miami, where officials say the Dade County administration is prepared to subsidize the Metrolink system for the foreseeable future. But those subsidies may prove enormous as well-established transit networks collect only about 60 per cent of operating revenues from fares.

The Miami-based urban geographer Peter D. Miller pointed out that the Miami system is the first to be opened in a true 20th-century city—a dispersed Sunbelt metropolis without a real urban centre or any history of mass rapid transportation. "It is not like millions of closet stragglers are going to come out of the woodwork," said Miller, adding that for many people the system will represent at best "an object of curiosity." There are also potential harmful effects from tropical storms, the sea-salt environment and

intense heat on the system itself.

But transit officials say that they are convinced they can persuade as many as a quarter of a million people within three years that taking a \$1 ride is better than driving to work. In fact, the Metrolink driving will be left to auto (for Automatic Train Operation) systems, and the trains will be kept hundreds of metres apart by ATP (for Automatic Train Protection) systems.

But whether a transit system that runs parallel to a main highway is an answer to Miami's commuter congestion is one problem that concerns Miller. "If it ran to the Orange Bowl or to the airport it might have a chance," he said. The rides were free on the inaugural party train Sunday, but this week, after the fanfare, it will be a dollar a ride and "a return to the real world," said King Elliott, chief spokesman for the Metro Dade transportation administration. "Most people will be smart enough to evaluate it. When they are sitting in traffic along U.S. 1, watching the trains go by, anyone in his right mind will at least try it." But for Metrolink to succeed, Miamians will not only have to try it but like it—every working day. —PETER KIRSCH in Miami

RELIGION

The dispute over homosexual ministers



Ministers for MacDonald: "There is a time to prophesy and a time to heal"

Last March a United Church of Canada report created a fire storm of controversy when it recommended that admitted homosexuals should be allowed to join the ministry. The proposal of the church's division of ministry personnel and education sharply divided liberal and evangelical segments in the one-million-member church. Since then the church's national office has received more than 400 letters from members indicating that the split has widened still further. And last week the church's moderator, Dr. Rev. Clark MacDonald, who had spent over whether to speak out, did little to resolve the dispute when he announced that he will not take a public stand on the issue. Said MacDonald: "There is a time to prophesy and a time to heal."

MacDonald's stance mollified anti-homosexual factions but it disappointed homosexuals in the church. The 3,000 members of the church's conservative evangelical organization, Renewal Fellowship, say that ordaining known homosexual ministers would constitute a rejection of Old and New Testament scripture. The group argues that biblical passages in the books of Romans and Genesis portray homosexuality as a sin.

An informal survey that Renewal Fellowship conducted last month among 559 of British Columbia's church administrators showed that 28 per cent of those who responded would leave the church if the report's recommendations became policy and that 45 per cent would leave their home church if a homosexual minister were assigned there. But the church estimates that 10 per cent of the 4,900 United Church's ordained clergy are homosexual. Many have publicly identified they can no

longer minister to women's rights, said Karen Prentice, a United Church chaplain at the University of Toronto and one of the 10 per cent who has admitted his homosexuality. "I was very disappointed that on this issue, for whatever reason, he has not been able to show the same kind of leadership," Church officials said that, for the most part, moderates do not express their views on matters that are not part of church policy. But MacDonald told Maclean's that his decision to remain neutral resulted from a desire to help heal the emotional wounds that the debate has been inflicting on church members. MacDonald said the degree of negative response indicated that the church moved too quickly on the issue.

The United Church of Canada is not the only religious group grappling with the homosexual issue. The United Methodist Church in the United States voted two weeks ago to reaffirm its condemnation of homosexual relations. And the U.S. United Presbyterian Church narrowly defeated a motion similar to the United Church of Canada report two years ago. For their part, the bishops of the Anglican Church of Canada voted in 1979 that they would ordain homosexuals if they remained celibate. Said Skyny: "We do not believe we can separate homosexual orientation and homosexual behavior."

Already, five of the 12 regional bodies under the United Church of Canada's General Council have reported the recommendations of the report. As a result, Rev. Harry Ouellette, one of the report's authors, said most church observers believe that the 280 delegates to the General Council's August meeting in Montreal, Que., will choose to delay the decision and seek compromise.

For such a long time, it has been a prospect that distresses Skyny, who said, "It is like asking us to go back to the laboratory and be pricked and probed and tested for three more years." In his statement MacDonald said that he wanted to avoid rubbing "salt in the already wounded of the church." But he may not have done just that.

—ANN WARMLEY

For such a long time, it has been a prospect that distresses Skyny



The beginning of the Oilers' era

One dream died and another was realized Saturday night at the Northlands Coliseum in Edmonton. The New York Islanders' quest to tie the Montreal Canadiens' National Hockey League record of five straight Stanley Cups fell one short, and the Edmonton Oilers won the first Cup in their five-year NHL history. In taking the Cup from the Islanders, four games in one, with three stirring wins last week in Edmonton, the young Oilers team served notice that it, too, may hold the Cup for a long time.

The Stanley Cup final was a replay of last year's only in the sense that the names of the two teams were the same. But this time the Islanders, who defeated the Oilers in four straight games in the 1983 final, were tired and dispirited rather than overpowering and confident. And the champion Oilers of 1984 were brutal and exuberant rather than awestruck and intimidated. Still, before the series moved from Long Island to Edmonton last week and the Oilers skated away from the Islanders, it appeared that the series might last a full seven games. In the first game, undoubtedly the best played of the entire NHL season, the Oilers defeated the defending champions 1-0. The Islanders then came back to win the second game by a decisive 6-1 score. Then, home ice for Edmonton—the longer road the Islanders had to travel to reach the finals—and the New Yorkers' injuries took their toll. The Oilers could not be stopped.

Before the finals, the Islanders faced three of the league's best teams in turn. They defeated the New York Rangers, the Washington Capitals and the suddenly prolific Montreal Canadiens. Each series was close and bruising. The Oilers, who finished the regular season with the best record of all 30 teams, met the Vancouver Canucks, Calgary Flames and Minnesota North Stars in the preliminary rounds. Only the Flames really threatened the Oilers. The Edmonton team had nine days off after qualifying for the finals, the Islanders, with four top players out of the lineup with injuries, had just five. But in the end it was the skating and scoring skills of the Oilers that won the Cup.

Before the series began, Islander forward Bryan Trottier said, "The Oilers have more players who can handle the puck at high speed than any team in history." The Oilers lived up to that assessment last week in doing so they solved their main problem of last



Edmonton fans celebrating the Oilers' Stanley Cup; youth and speed

year—scoring on Islander goalie Billy Smith. In the first two games in Edmonton they put 12 goals behind Smith. In their previous six final games (including last year's) the Oilers had scored only eight times in total, until last Thursday night's game. Oiler Wayne Gretzky, the most prolific scorer the game has ever known, had not scored a goal in seven Cup final games. His breakaway goal opened the scoring in that game, and Gretzky scored afterward. "Without question, that is the most relieved I have ever felt. The fans, the media and my teammates expect me to score, and I think the other guys were worrying a little."

The Islanders' go-to-hold-and-expensive defense corps, led by captain Dennis Peters, were expected to give the Islanders the edge. But Peters missed the third period of the third game because of muscle spasms in his leg, and

by the fourth game it was evident that the Islanders' defenses were no match for the speedy Oilers forwards. It was no longer a question of whether or not the Islanders would win a fifth straight Cup, but how many games it would take the Oilers to win their first.

The Oilers' victory in front of their own fans Saturday night heralded not only what may be an era of dominance for the team, but a new era for the league itself. The Islanders had dominated the first few years with a grinding, defensive style of play. But over the past few seasons their rivals, with the exception of the Washington Capitals, had stopped emulating the champions and had adopted a more open offensive style typified by the Oilers and the Quebec Nordiques. The supremacy of the Oilers is likely to last, and their legacy may be the return of excitement to the NHL across North America.—HAG QUMOS

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Sinclair in the 1940s; with the Front Page Challenge crew; bow ties and brass interviews with Gumbel and Weber

OBITUARY

Farewell to a cherished curmudgeon

With the death last week at 83 of Gordon Sinclair, Canadian journalism lost one of its most vital presences and a valuable link with its own colorful past. In his 68-year career, Sinclair—who died from complications after a heart attack—was the embodiment of the busy newsmen. He was loud in dress and manner, and his tremulous legs were kinked, bow ties and a brutally direct interviewing style in which he badgered people about how much money they made. The veteran newspaper reporter and broadcaster commented on what he saw with down-to-earth gusto that his audience loved and adored. The Alliance of Canadian Cinema, Television and Radio Artists (ACTRA), the union he helped found, named its annual award for outperformers after him. Judging from his writing, radio broadcasts and 35 years as a panelist on the popular CBC-TV panel show, *Front Page Challenge*, the honor was entirely appropriate.

Sinclair was born in Toronto's Cobblestone shanties in 1900 to a poor Scottish immigrant couple. He joined the *Toronto Daily Star* in 1922 as a reporter, worked for the paper intermittently until 1962 and was fired 11 times. But the *Star* always hired him back because, he later explained, "I was Sinclair and I was good." During the 1930s and early

1950s he was an ace reporter, covering everything from Chicago gang wars to the birth of the Dime stores.

As a young correspondent he sent home dispatches—under such striking headlines as *London Like Holdings Free* on Sinclair's Blood—that caught the public imagination. He interviewed Adolf Hitler, joked with Mohandas Gandhi, suffered a bayonet wound in the Japanese invasion of China and studied the infamous penis colony of Devil's Island—which he said he found dull.

Out of his experiences came a series of books, the best-known of which was *Footloose in India* (1952). But in the following few years in the paper, the *Star* assigned him to a series of routine jobs, and in 1942 he left to do daily broadcasts on one of Canada's largest radio stations, CFBT in Toronto.

Sinclair—"Sim"—to fans who grew up listening to the sound of his voice—did not hesitate to link the news with his own personality. In October, 1962, when his program was interrupted for a bulletin about the Cuban missile crisis, Sinclair roared: "God damn Yankees" into what he thought was a closed microphone. Nine years later he repeated the phrase deliberately. In a broadcast about a plane crash that killed a writer by a U.S.-led attack, ironically, the most publicized broad-

cast in his career was his three-minute open letter praising Americans and sympathizing with them in 1973 during their crisis of conscience over the Vietnam War. By popular demand, he recorded the editorial over a musical background of *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*. Sales topped three million and made Sinclair more than \$200,000, which he donated to the American Red Cross. As for the editorial with his earlier anti-Americanism, Sinclair explained: "I am not a racist. People in their coffins are consistent."

When Sinclair slipped into a coma last week, callers began to inundate the switchboards of the CBC and CFBT. CBC news director Don Johnston said, "There was nobody like him—the crackling energy, the candor, the little barbs and observations on life." And CBC fellow *Front Page Challenge* panelist Betty Kennedy added, "He was always a gentle person and, in a funny way, shy."

Sinclair died at 6 p.m., May 13, following his family's decision—in accordance with his long-held wishes—that he not be kept alive artificially if he were to suffer irreversible brain damage. With his beloved wife and his brother, but intimate gift for communication, he was a cherished reminder of a simpler and freer era. —DOUG FITCHENBURG

MEDICINE

New blood for hemophiliacs

The lives of the world's estimated 400,000 hemophiliacs may soon be less precarious because of a dramatic development last month at the Genentech Inc. laboratories in San Francisco. Currently, hemophiliacs, whose blood lacks a protein vital to the clotting process, must receive regular transfusions. Like all transfusion recipients, hemophiliacs are subject to any impurities and viruses that donated blood may contain. Shortages of donated blood are also a cause for concern to hemophiliacs. These dangers may now be reduced by Genentech's production of artificial Factor VIII—the blood-clotting agent that most hemophiliacs lack. The genetically engineered Factor VIII, a product of recombinant animal or bacteria cells, eliminates the risks of blood transfusions. Following Genentech's lead, at least three other U.S. biotechnology firms are working for a share of the estimated \$250-million-a-year worldwide market.

Blood clotting takes place in a series of steps and it involves at least a dozen proteins, each triggering the next in the falling domino. When one protein is absent or inactive because of a genetic defect, clotting is hampered, causing hemophiliacs to bleed indefinitely from even minor wounds. Roughly 80 per cent of hemophiliacs are missing the Factor VIII protein in their blood, according to the Montreal-based World Federation of Hemophiliacs. And it is the Factor VIII gene—a segment of human DNA—that causes a blood cell to make the protein.

Chiron Corp. of Emeryville, Calif., Biogen Inc. of Cambridge, Mass., and the Genentech Institute of Biotech all have isolated the Factor VIII gene and they plan to market it in the next two years. Dr. Pablo Valenzuela, vice-president and research director at Chiron, said such a product would be far superior to donated blood proteins, which contain only one part in 2,000 of Factor VIII and can be laced with viruses or other diseases, including hepatitis and AIDS. Said Valenzuela: "The product that they are getting now is terrible. It is the most impure plasma available you can think of, and it has only been approved because if it was not, the people would die."

According to Alan Brewster, executive director of the New York-based National Hemophilia Foundation, the actual cost of hemophilic-specific \$10,000 a year on blood proteins, which is produced almost exclusively by four U.S. companies. With genetically engi-

neered competition looming, said Brewster, "The potential for a less expensive product is there." It may also cause problems for the conventional producers, and as a result several are investing in the new research, said Dr. Jerry Grove, director of the British Columbia hemophilia program, based in

Vancouver. Added Grove: "It will break the bottom completely out of the market." But the new developments clearly hold promise for hemophiliacs. Currently, hemophiliacs receive transfusions with the plasma containing the protein when they are bleeding. But with a cheaper and more widely available pure product, said Grove, hemophiliacs could give themselves a protective injection every morning when they get up, the way a diabetic gives himself insulin. As a result, a hemophiliac may be able to live a more normal life.

—DAVE BELMONT

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FOR THE RECORD

Masters of modern sound

STRAUSS: OBSE CONCERTO
LUTOSLAWSKI: DOUBLE
CONCERTO FOR OBOL, HARP
AND CHAMBER ORCHESTRA
*Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra,
Conducted by Michael Grier
(Moon Music/Vox Com Londe)*

The concerto form seems to flourish with more vigor in 20th-century classical music than the symphony. That may be because its fragmentary, malleable quality is suited to the mood of the age. Poland's Witold Lutoslawski remains one of the few living classical composers who commands a wide audience, and his 1980 Double Concerto for Obse, HARP and Chamber Orchestra demonstrates the reason. It is a multifaceted and dramatic showpiece that deftly combines wit and lyricism. Obse virtuoso Heinz Holliger is equally at home with Richard Strauss's delectable Obse Concerto on the same record. Holliger gives the concerto a lively, relaxed performance. Even listeners who have not yet explored 20th-century classical music will find the two works compelling, accessible and attractive.

SZYMANOWSKI: VIOLIN CONCERTO NO. 2, VIOLIN SONATA OP. 9
Fredella Lask (travis)
Conducted by Siegfried Köhler
(Moon Music/Vox Com Londe)

Polish composer Karol Szymanowski is one of the most neglected of major 20th-century composers. But Fredella Lask's recording of his sublime, folklike Violin Concerto No. 2 demonstrates the Irish gypsy flair to greatly adorn his music. Despite her young looks, the style and flow of his typewriter music shines her. As well, the Berlin Symphony Orchestra under Siegfried Köhler produces an amorphous sound that fails to bring out the full sensuality of Szymanowski's textures. Lask fares better in the record's other Szymanowski composition, her earlier and more conventional Violin Sonata, Op. 9. It is a sterling piece, full of late-romantic manner, and she and her accompanist, pianist Albert Birk, adeptly capture its chamber-like character. As with all of the Polish master's work, it deserves to be better known. Despite its flaws, the recording merits attention for that reason alone. —JOHN PRINCE

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MUSIC

Giving voice to fantasy

People who sing in the shower can
now take their show on the road.

A new machine enables them to
add their own vocals to instrumental
versions of their favorite songs and to
experience the feeling of singing with a
full-scale backup band. The Singing
Machine, the size of a standard ampli-
fier, first appeared eight years ago in
Japan, where they were called karaoke
("empty orchestra"). Today the karaoke
industry has become a booming, billion-
dollar business. Earlier this month
International H.R.S. Industries Inc., a
Toronto-based company, launched a Cana-
dian version with the plainer name of
"The Singing Machine," hoping to
attract a similarly harmonious choir
with the lucrative Canadian live entertainment market.

The Singing Machine plays pre-
recorded 8-track tape cartridges of
backup music in every style from rock
to gospel. A typical tape might feature
piano, bass, drums, horns, strings, even
a 10-piece orchestra. The user of the
Singing Machine provides vocals
through a microphone. Echo effects and
other voice enhancement features allow
him to blend his voice with the instru-
mental track. A built-in cassette re-
corder with adding and playback con-
trols can simultaneously record the
singing crooner. The basic unit costs
\$280, and users can connect it to a home
sound system for amplification and tap-
ing. A more elaborate unit, which
H.R.S. suggests will be used for "profe-
ssional" purposes, costs \$2,500.

The high-priced model will likely ap-
peal to restaurant and disco owners who
hope that karaoke choice will become as
popular in Canada as they are in Japan.
In that country even some taxis are out-
fitted to accommodate singing passen-
gers. But Elaine Carlebach, director of
corporate affairs with H.R.S., and she
believes that her biggest seller will be
the moderately priced units designed
for home use. Last year dealers sold
10,000 machines in the United States,
and Carlebach predicts that she will sell
as many as 350 units a month in Cana-
da. "Everybody has a fantasy to be a
star," she said. "Once one person gets
up to sing it becomes contagious."

Many people may feel shy about their
first public performance with the ma-
chine. In Japan karaoke etiquette dic-
tates that refusing to sing for others is
rude and demonstrates an unwilling-
ness to reveal the true self. Still,
would-be singers who have per-
formed in Canada's first karaoke club,



Nakanura is singing, budding crooners

in Toronto's Paradise restaurant,
quickly overcome their inhibitions.
Club manager Lawrence Nakamura
commented: "We have regular clients of
all nationalities and backgrounds.
Singing brings them together." Added
David Christensen, a Toronto enthu-
siast who bought an imported unit last
December: "Each of us feels deep down
that he is a Frank Sinatra." And Chris-
tensen's machine has uncovered a se-
cond family talent: his son, Steven, now
plays recordings of his wife, Marlene,
who has taken up singing as a hobby.

Initially, Carlebach's company will
use shipping mall demonstrations to
have curious onlookers sing their ver-
sions of such songs as He's Only Just
Begin by The Carpenters. Carlebach
says that she will try to guarantee con-
tinuing interest by constantly expand-
ing the Singing Machine's current 100-
song library. But many do-it-yourself
music technology products have hit
near failure in the past: recordings of
orchestra without a singer or solo in-
strument and stereo adapters that
eliminate recorded vocals have found
only limited markets as teaching aids.
Canada's version of karaoke must de-
velop a wider market to succeed. If it
can, turn the country into a coast-to-
coast chorus of songsters, then its future
will sound a resonant note indeed.

—NICHOLAS JONKINS

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Wells: a successful hybrid of biography and memoir

H.G. WELLS, ASPECTS OF A LIFE
By Anthony West
(Random House, 345 pages, \$26.95)

HG. Wells's death in 1946 marked the end of one of the longest and most influential careers in the history of English literature. The author of the science fiction classic *The War of the Worlds*, as well as many other best-selling works, Wells had a genius for popularizing new ideas which made him a leading educator who extended the frontiers of the public's imagination. But there was also a darker side to Wells's reputation. Although renowned, he was a notorious adulterer. His most famous liaison was with Rebecca West, the brilliant feminist and writer West had a son by Wells, Anthony West, the author of an engaging new biography, *H.G. Wells, Aspects of a Life*. For West, 80, the publication of *Aspects* represents a final opening to terms with his parents, especially his father. But the book is much more than a personal reminiscence. The author has combed through the vast collection of Wells's papers and produced dozens of interviews in profane, gracefully styled and generally successful hybrid of memoir and objective biography.

Wells was born in 1866, the son of a failed shopkeeper and a housewife mother who was scandalized at her son rising above his station in life. When he

won a scholarship to the Royal College of Science, she forced him to abandon it and assume the drudgery of a draper's apprentice. She never forgave him for his rebellion, which led him to journalists, then early fame as a popular novelist with the publication of *The Time Machine* (1895). In a sense, Wells never did escape his mother. When he married Amy Catherine Rodd in 1896, he found, as West astutely suggests, the perfect mother substitute. Amy bound him to her by sheer tolerance. She created a domestic nest to which her boyish husband could always return after his sexual escapades.

West's evaluations of

his father's romantic entanglements are not always convincing. His feelings toward his mother are so obviously hostile that it is difficult to completely accept his version of her affair with Wells's characteristic West as an hysterical egotist pursuing a great man of letters "with the tone of a Russian novel that has been passed through the mind of a Woody Allen character." He considers his father, on the other hand, to be a "prophet of a new order of mind and society." Such a judgment certainly reflects Wells's own relationship with his father although he saw him infrequently, their meetings were usually casual and frank. But Wells cannot be considered a champion of a new

straightforwardness. He showed a fundamental lack of honesty attempting to realize how his affairs wounded his wife, not to mention the young women whose passions he so carefully aroused.

Still, it is West's obvious desire to defend his father that gives *Aspects* much of its spice. He is particularly entertaining in his discussion of the quarels that nearly destroyed the Fabian group of socialists known as the Fabians. Wells wanted to move his fellow Fabians away from idealistic generalizations and commit them to a hard-fighting program of rights for women, including maternity leave and the vote. But the Fabian old guard, which included playwright George Bernard Shaw and dramatists Herbert Beer and Sidney and Beatrice Webb, justifiably rebuffed his efforts. Shaw, whose love affairs were notorious, staged a heinous whumper campaign in which he characterized Wells as an immoral womanizer.

Despite Wells's Fabian involvement, he was never a revolutionary socialist. Instead, he believed in the gradual reform of the world through a rational process of education. As West convincingly argues, his father made his most lasting contributions to society by explaining and disseminating ideas that eventually influenced thousands. His novel *Two-Way* sounded an early warning of the dangers of unfettered free enterprise. And he campaigned for the establishment of a United Nations almost 30 years before the body became a reality. Those were H.G. Wells's most enduring gifts to humankind. Indeed, *Aspects of a Life* is a passionate reminder that the influence of that talented and charismatic man is still very much alive.

—JAMES HENNING

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction	Nonfiction
1 <i>The Aquilans Progression</i> , Ludlum (1)	1 <i>The March of Folly: From Troy to Vietnam</i> , Tuchman (5)
2 <i>The Red One</i> , (1)	2 <i>Sex and Destiny</i> , Greer (3)
3 <i>Pat Simonsky</i> , King (3)	3 <i>Voyagers</i> , Jones
4 <i>Deities of Dune</i> , Herbert (4)	4 <i>The Game</i> , Dryden (2)
5 <i>Polecat</i> , Wheeler (2)	5 <i>Further Up the Organization</i> , Townsend (2)
6 <i>Land of the Dream</i> , Greveling (7)	6 <i>Strike Two</i> , Luceno and Parker (5)
7 <i>Descent from Zenobia</i> , Hubbard (3)	7 <i>Post Mortem</i> , Collier
8 <i>The Leopard Hunts in Darkness</i> , Smith (3)	8 <i>Facing the One Who Manages to Work</i> , Knechtel and Lerner (1)
9 <i>One More Sunday</i> , MacDonald	9 <i>Lines and Shadows</i> , Wachsberg (7)
10 <i>The Name of the Beast</i> , (10)	10 <i>Second Wife</i> , Second Best, Walker

(1) Publishers list rank



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The potent spell of adultery



Updike: a bewitching tale about female sorcery and sexual seductions

THE WITCHES OF EASTWICK

By John Updike
(Random House, 307 pages, \$21)

John Updike reveals in the role of the old-fashioned novelist—an Olympian witness to the flickers of behavior that bypass ordinary morality. A minimalist, he fashions an appealing deflection of a book, complete with tiny paintings, lights that work, sharp-eyed dogs and faces drawn in Dutch-master detail. The cultural brie-a-brac of the U.S. middle class, like chubby religious relics, continues to hold a sad fascination for him in his 11th novel, *The Witches of Eastwick*. Updike once again takes on the task of rendering meaning to the mundane surface of daily life.

His story is a wild, wishywasny one about three divorced women in a small Rhode Island town during the Vietnam War. Jane plays the violin, Suke writes for the local paper, and Alexandra sculpts little clay figures. But the women have other talents. With a combination of humility and wickedness, Updike has turned his heroines into witches—women in touch with their own power. From time to time they apply themselves to needy men, the position. As for their former husbands, Updike says the women have transferred them into a jar of dirt, a bundle of herbs and a plastic placemat. Whether that is fact or figure of speech, the author refuses to say. Every Thursday the women get together and "in the right mood and into their third drink, they could erect a cone of power above

them like a tent to the south."

At first, the women's sorcery is harmless when one of them loses at tennis, she turns the ball into a toad. Then the arrival of a new man in town disturbs their cozy coven. Darryl Van Horne is an obnoxious New York inventor who buys the local museum and turns the basement into a laboratory. A rather repellent man, Van Horne is clearly the devil from Manhattan, and his cleverness lies in his recognition of the women's strengths. Soon their Thursdays have turned into weekly orgies in Van Horne's leaky bathtub.

Sexual jealousies lead to more dangerous spells. Suke's lover kills his wife violently. The weather turns suddenly nasty. When the coven takes on a new young protégée who tactlessly ends up marrying Van Horne, she develops cancer and dies. Wiletschki is a metaphor for what happens when the forces of sympathy and spite rebound within the narrow limits of a town falling under the spell of the 1960s. There seems to be a moral: adultery upsets the social ecology and unleashes disturbing natural forces. What begins as a bit of mischief can end up with all hell breaking loose.

But Updike's witches are not for berling. They are strong women in the wrong age. He is even harder on the men, who are either shriveled up or full of rage. Despite that rather depressing aerial view of the sexes, the novel is mostly comic, a playful fable of the currents at work in a town in which "there are no secrets, only areas of avoidance."

—MARSH JACKSON



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Without fear or compromise

INTERVIEW
By Margaret Atwood
(Oxford University Press,
352 pages, \$6.95)

Few writers are as articulate and
profile as Margaret Atwood.
Since her sixth volume of poetry,
True Stories, appeared in 1981, she has

published four books ranging from a
novel (*Sidney Hume*) to critical essays
(*Good Words*). Because Atwood's
work is so comprehensive, it is more
than a personal literary quest—her
writing has become a measure of the
times. That quality is most evident in
her poetry, but readers who approach
her 16th collection, *Interference*, hoping
for instant illuminations will encounter
instead a cryptic darkness. By the end
of the book, however, Atwood's realiza-
tion of old wisdom in new forms offers
tentative hope.

"Interference" means the period be-

tween the old and new moons, and im-
ages of transitions crowd the book. In the
first section, titled "Seaside Poems," At-
wood summarizes her own literary history:
"The first poem abruptly begins 'I
was once the statue woman,' a reference
to the harsh sexual politics of her ear-
lier poetry. The 11 Seaside Poems are
vintage Atwood, full of vivid and often
harsh images—in regard to a Re-
naissance painting is "a slab of flaming
luxury." But the poems also reveal a
new perspective on images which, in
their repeated shedding of skin, reflect
both poetic and spiritual renewal. For
Atwood, the end they symbolize is only
fear, and she invokes the ancient belief
that visions are holy. "The statue is an
image of God," she tells the reader.
"Pick it up, and you would hold the
darkness that you fear."

The main section of the book, also
titled "Interference," elaborates on that
theme as the various histories of the
heart evolve into a mystic protest
who celebrates "the quiet shaming" of
every physical object. In struggling to
dig up the roots of personal and political
injustice, Atwood attacks mankind's
"ground for some singular absolute." Ab-
stractions are misleading, and she
urges readers to shed a skin of senti-
mentality about emotion. "Love is the
abstract is deadly," she writes. In re-
cent years Atwood has crusaded against
oppressive regimes, but *Interference* re-
veals political tolerance. A despairing
portrait of Bushby concludes, "The de-
sire to be loved is the last illusion. Give
it up and you will be free." In the final
poems, having embraced the knowledge
that "the kingdom of god is within you,"
Atwood also celebrates love in the body
where "the light shines endlessly, full
and inexhaustible."

To commemorate those insights At-
wood assumes many roles—daughter,
mother, healer, poet and Martin. She
often addresses the reader directly, but
her repeated exhortations can be con-
fusing. *Interference* is the portrait of a
soul wrestling with destiny, and At-
wood's intense questioning twists the
poetry to extremes. At times she is ri-
tually direct, eager to kill snakes, but
mean "go for the shovel/kill blood on
the blade." In other pieces her dense
thought flattens the images, leaving ab-
stract hooks which she herself wants to
avoid. Even after a second reading, a
phrase such as "the deep subarctic of
space beyond meaning" defies ready
interpretation.

Still, Atwood's difficult passion
bristle with conviction, and rejecting
their challenge is impossible. Every
poet must voice the wisdom of the ages,
for *Interference* Atwood confronts that
wisdom without fear or compromise.

—BLAKE CLAYBURN

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SCIENCE

Secrets in a snake pit

Naturalists and curious nightbirds pressed toward the lime-stone pit and peered over the rim. One woman screamed and fled. The pit floor was alive—a writhing carpet of garter snakes two- to three-feet long, slithering and tankling in their spring mating ritual. Each April and May, near Narcisse, a tiny hamlet in Manitoba's Interlake region, thousands of red-sided garter snakes search for mates. Among this spring's observers studying the phenomenon were three University of Texas researchers, who were looking for answers to basic questions about the snakes' mating behavior. Stud one of the Texas team, Janet Joy, 30, a Texas native and University of Toronto zoology graduate. "These are the most active breeding dens in the world."

The nearby town of Inwood has, in fact, billed itself as the garter snake capital of the world. Joy estimates that as many as 50,000 snakes crawl to Narcisse each year and that as many as 15,000 occupy a single den. Of special interest to the researchers is the fact that the females can store sperm in their bodies for a full year. Provincial wildlife biologist William Koster points out that, if scientists can isolate the preservation element in the female snake or in the snake sperm, they can apply it to other types of sperm, which in turn may be a boon to the science of artificial husbandry.

For thousands of years the harmless species has gathered at the pits in the fall to hibernate in the spring hundreds of males wrap themselves around one female at a time to form a two-foot-thick squirming chain called a mating ball. Each female, however, accepts only one male. After all the females have been mated, the snakes disperse to nearby marshes and fields for the summer.

But there is now concern for the dwindling snake population. In 1978 the provincial government shortened the fall harvest season, banned collectors, called "pickers," and restricted the major dens near Narcisse to public viewing and study only. But Koster, for one, wants the Manitoba government to increase its efforts to protect the snakes, which, he says, serve a "vital public resource function." Otherwise, the tiny town of Inwood could lose its only claim to fame.

—ANDREW NEILPOER is in Winnipeg.

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EDUCATION

Downtown is second best

Students in downtown schools have always scored lower grades than children in well-off neighborhoods. But when Winnipeg School Division No. 1 gave its students the multiple-choice Canadian Test of Basic Skills (CTBS) in October, it found that the gap had become a gulf. Ten of the division's 38 elementary schools in more affluent neighborhoods professedly scored well above the national average in reading, mathematics and vocabulary skills, but all 17 of its inner-city schools performed well below average. In fact, 10 of the 17 schools scored at or below the bottom 10 per cent of all Canadian schools in basic skills. The CTBS scores also led to a debate among educators about the use and validity of the standardized test as well as the quality of inner-city schools—a concern of school boards across the country. A report released on May 8 by a special committee of Winnipeg school trustees unanimously concluded that some gaps in achievement levels could be narrowed with better programs and policies. But admitting how wide the gap is now, Edward Kovachuk, one of the report's authors, told *Maclean's*, "We have a problem."

Like many other Canadian school boards, the Winnipeg board defines its inner-city schooling needs on the basis of student mobility, family income, the number of students from single-parent families and the education level of parents. Many of Winnipeg's inner-city schools, located in run-down neighborhoods near the city's Canadian Pacific Railway yards, have high numbers of native children, along with immigrants from Southeast Asia and the Philippines, for whom English is a second language. Winnipeg also has one of the most mobile student populations in Canada—with some students changing schools as many as a dozen times a year.

Although Winnipeg's Division No. 1 Grade 4 and Grade 7 students must annually take the CTBS, no one had ever compared the inner-city results with those from other schools within the division. Division No. 1 does not usually release individual and comparative school scores in case someone would use them unfairly to incite teachers and principals, and chief school superintendent John Smyth. He added that the results from last October's testing did not surprise his co-workers because they have all seen similar scores in previous years. But the trustees did not want as safely Brian Dixon, the school



Kovachuk: understanding the math gap

board chairman, said he and his colleagues "were shocked that our schools were among the lowest in Canada."

CTBS, a standardized test which Nelson Canada distributes from Toronto, is a Canadian version of the Iowa Test of Basic Skills and is the most widely used nationwide. Like all standard tests it best measures how individual students or schools perform on basic skills compared to the national average. But unlike many U.S. schools which publish their test results, most Canadian school boards rarely reveal their findings to avoid public criticism.

For 50 years, international research studies have shown that socioeconomic status affects school achievement and that students attending inner-city schools are twice as likely to be low achievers than other pupils. Admitted Dixon, Hastings, superintendent of curriculum for the Toronto Board of Education, which classifies 35 of its schools as inner-city. "We know our schools are not much different from the rest of the world in this respect." Individual Toronto schools use standardized tests, but the board neither collects its data nor compares individual school performance because "bad results generate more bad teaching." Instead, it evaluates its schools on the basis of whether or not its elementary graduates enter high schools that prepare

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students for university. Registered Teacher: "We are interested in what the school achieves, but not by the means of standardized testing."

Many Winnipeg educators agree Dixon, who wants Division No. 1 to devise its own testing, said that low OTBS scores are not a reflection of poor teaching methods or spotty curricula. The president of the Winnipeg Teachers' Association, Ronald Kinn, who said he was "amused" by the rankings, also said that he thinks teachers have been doing a good job. "It's not fair to say that you do and how good it is, you are not going to overcome the severity of [problem with] these kids in all areas." But in blaming the poor results on cultural disadvantage, Dixon also questions the test's validity, which he says has not been standardized for an inner-city school population. Said Dixon: "A lot of the kids cannot read the material."

But inconsistent poor test results can indicate a lack of appropriate instruction. Mark Holmes, an education administration professor at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in Toronto and a specialist in effective school programs, declared that inequalities in learning will continue to plague inner-city schools if educators keep on using unstructured methods that focus more on building up a child's confidence than specific skills. Said Holmes: "There is no reason why the gaps have to be as large as they are. It is tragic and it is the result of instructional methods that have swept across Canada." Some research shows that effective schools are those that have highly structured classrooms, direct teaching methods, a strong emphasis on basic skills and high teacher expectations of all students. Added Holmes: "Schools should not be making allowances for students because they are Indian or black but should expect them to achieve at high levels."

Winnipeg's inner-city school report also quotes effective-school research but it falls short of making specific recommendations. It does note that many of the city's inner schools will work on the open classroom concept, a program that the report says "can be inappropriate for some children." Kowalski, for one, said that Winnipeg's school division is not paying enough attention to the new research and that it should get more parents involved in the schools.

With a superintendent's report on inner-city school programming due in June and a conference planned by Winnipeg teachers on the inner-city schools for this fall, the problems of the city's inner-city schools will remain in the public spotlight for some time. Admitted Kinn: "There is a lot to be done. But you cannot correct it overnight."

—ANTHONY NIELSEN in Winnipeg



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VOLKSWAGEN



Durkocha and Hombard: tired of unbearable comparisons to *The Journal*

TELEVISION

A news show gets tough

When the weeknight public affairs program *Le Point* made its debut last September on the CBC's French-language network, Radio-Canada's news and current affairs division, Pierre O'Neill, promised viewers a new "window on the world." With *Téléjournal*, the half-hour news broadcast leading into the 30-minute *Le Point*, the Montreal-based network clearly hoped to duplicate the English network's combination of *The National* and *The Journal*. But during the first season O'Neill has managed to build only part of his vision.

Le Point has suffered many of the growing pains of new program—and personal, changes, policy disagreements and public criticism. Now, as it prepares to shift to a 15-minute summer format at the end of June, O'Neill is trying to avert further problems. The former political reporter and press secretary to Pierre Trudeau has taken personal control of *Le Point*, appointing himself executive producer. And he has launched a series of changes that should give the program a markedly different appearance when it resumes its full format in September.

Complaints about the show and unfavorable comparisons to *The Journal* have dogged *Le Point* since its first airing. Bilingual viewers are annoyed with the subtitles that run when guests speak English. And many women have said they find the show too "feminine,"

with not enough on-scene reporting. Said Louise Cousineau, the television and radio critic for the Montreal daily *Le Presse*: "There is far too much talk and not nearly enough action."

As for O'Neill's plans for September, he told Mackenzie last week. "We want our presentation to be more visually and news-oriented than it is at present." Cabot Dumas Hombard, who leaves the show at the end of May, was critical of the shift to emphasis to harder news stories. Pierre Nadan, a veteran journalist, will join the other host, Simon Durkocha. And François Brunet, who replaced co-ordinating producer Michel Boudreau, is expected to push for much longer reporting.

Still, O'Neill insists that *Le Point*'s first year has been a success. He notes that its average nightly audience is 580,000, compared to 1.5 million for *The Journal*. "French Canada fits around a third of the country," he said, "and we have about a third of *The Journal*'s audience." As well, he feels that viewers and critics should not compare *Le Point* to *The Journal*, which has a staff of 85, compared with *Le Point*'s 56 employees. "It takes about three years to build a show of this magnitude," said O'Neill, "and we are only one-third of the way through." For now, his task is to give *Le Point* "a window on the world" the sharper focus that viewers feel they deserve.

—ANTHONY WILSON SMITH
in Montreal

THE ARTS

Footlights at the frontier

The North had not seen such glitter stage the Gold Rush. Last week, amid popping champagne corks, pianist Paul Horn, French-Canadian folk dancers and CBC radio host Peter Onorato joined the Baker Lake Youth Theatre-Singers in a gala performance to inaugurate the \$13-million Northern Arts and Cultural Centre in Yellowknife, N.W.T. All performers waved their fees, and the centre's special guests and beneficiaries each paid an additional \$75 to join the opening night festivities. Their generosity was consistent with the spirit that has transformed the dream of a theatre at the tundra into a national project.

The dream was born four years ago in Yellowknife's Wilton Café. The city's then-mayor, Michael Ballantyne, looking with Roy MacGarry, publisher of the Toronto-based *Globe and Mail*, and its then-editor in chief, Richard Doyle, commented that his city badly needed a cultural centre to balance its development. To his surprise, the *Globe* responded by running free full-page ads—and by inspiring a national TV campaign—urging all Canadians to contribute to the project. The ads answered some scepticisms with factual reassurances and the suggestion that the North had no indigenous culture. But the objections died when cheques began to pour in. Donations from scores of municipalities, seven provincial governments and Ottawa augmented the flow from the likes of singer Anne Murray and an anonymous high school student in Corner Brook, N.B., who sent \$5.

Bringing a fully equipped professional theatre to an isolated city of 10,000 required both financial generosity and expenditures of imagination and energy. The territorial government donated an old gymnasium attached to Sir John Franklin Territorial High School. Ottawa architect William Fawcett transformed the gym into a streamlined greenhouse stage, being 850 glass walls. Outside, there is a small wood-paneled foyer for art and photography exhibitions. Next fall the 118 unpaid board members will hand over their responsibilities to a professional theatre manager who will allocate use of the new facility to the community's half-dance amateur theatrical groups and to touring productions. At that point the curtain will fall on that rarest of Canadian dramas: an authentic example of national co-operation and volunteerism that worked.

—BARBARA BRANCHETTE in Yellowknife

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Japan enters the Liberal race

By Allan Fotheringham

Where were we? Your humble, old-stained, well-worn, and slightly worn-out, but by design—has managed to be in foreign climes for this so far boring Liberal leadership race. One would like to avoid the dreary thing entirely, since all it does is make Pierre Elliott himself look like a damaged, old man, on his last legs of mental drip, and a chap keeps stumbling upon it while fleeing from airport terminal to taxi to the airline's coach.

Mr. John Turner, alias Roger Ramjet, has been having some small troubles. It seems, redesigning himself to the new post-Watergate mood of the Ottawa press gallery scribes. When Rusty Turner left Queen City a decade ago, Japan had not taken over the governing of Canadian politics. By this we mean that the chaps who have changed political reporting in Canada live in Osaka and Tokyo. They manufacture palm-ant tape recorders that now come built in to every graduate of a journalism school, along with a Calumby transducer. Mouth-mouthed politicians can no longer cry "misquoting" when the same thoughts that dribble out their brains are seen in the cold, black type of a newspaper the next day and the rim quickly eating them on the carpet. (Don McElinvay, the son of Moose Jaw, recalls that Arney Gardiner, who was the lovable Harry Long of Saskatchewan Liberalism, was "misquoting" for 30 years—he blithely instructed his newspaper voters every time that the dispassionate press, naturally, had got his comment all wrong.)

Today, Mr. Ramjet has discovered rather tardily, the pei cannot get away with that. All the younger scribes (those of us once taught by journalism givers taking notes on tape, we make it all up) would sooner have his sprinter than the batteries for his tape recorder. After John-John confided to some of the pencil press on the leadership trail that he quit the Trudeau cabinet over wage and price controls, the sassy lady re-Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for Southern News.

ported it. This resulted, as we know, in Mr. Himself at last getting a long-sought chance to stick a shiv in the handsome ribs of his putative heir. Mr. Trudeau attacked down Mr. Turner, suggesting he was guilty of, as Churchill put it, "terminological incoherence" and others present in the cabinet at the time supported the Trudeau version. Soon after, a grin-faced Turner was invited, on the campaign bus, by a dis-fall aide carrying a tape recorder to make sure his lips could not be "misquoting" again. This has been standard practice in Ottawa by cabinet ministers'.



flunkies for some years now, and one wonders where Turner has been hiding behind the door.

It is not exactly a state secret any longer that the reason Turner and Trudeau parted ways twofly was because the former went into the office of the latter on Sept. 10, 1975, to arrange (a commitment he believed he had been given) a removal from the dead-end finance portfolio. When the Prime Minister, with the ministry for individual relationships for which he is famed, offered Turner the demeriting suggestions of a judgeship (at the Senate), the proud man who is a decade younger than the fit was so incensed that he resigned and went back to his side with scars on his eyes.

It's been the only interesting push-up, though nine years removed, of this Grit yammer. Any time we can get our disgraced, insipid-statement fit to actually reveal to us what he really thinks of the man who is going to succeed him, we should be grateful. Otherwise, we

have to make do with such as John Moore, who showed up an hour and a half late for a meeting the other night. This is par, since the hurried Mr. Moore has been late for a train most of his life, but what was most significant was that only five people showed up for the rally in the first place. Perhaps Mr. Moore knew something we didn't. It is remiss of the time Robert Stanfield, while running in slow motion for Prime Minister, appeared on a headline radio show and so we phoned in. And Mr. Stanfield stated. Shows why he is in such a nice guy and a terrible politician.

Would never happen to a Liberal candidate. Keith Dewar or Jimmy Carter would have rushed out personally and faked a call from a Clark Kent phone booth.

We have the smartest chap in the race, Don Johnston, demanding that the other candidates give straight answers on policy and then trying to talk his way around his celebrated black eye, which is a very fascinating feature. He says it was a tennis match, but others say it was a car door, and I say it's a speech and the hell with it. How can voters not love a guy who gets a black eye? It ranks right up there with the hole in the shoe of Adlai Stevenson, another sage guy who also lost at the polls. Now that you mention it, if the delegates could see Johnston at his most appealing, playing piano at a party with or without his black eye, he would be even more popular than Harry Truman.

One's heart bleeds for the valiant Jean Chrétien, who at his last night looks as if he hasn't slept for three days. He now looks as if he hasn't slept for three weeks. He started out as an energetic second and will finish an energetic second. There is, for some relief, Eugene Whelan, who doesn't speak either of the two official languages and who eyes he is the best-known politician in the world because he attends a lot of global food conferences. (And looks as if he ate most of them.) There are also John Roberts and Mark MacGragan. Union Brian Mulroney steps laughing at this lineup, instead of out-letting some policy, we could end up with one of the above.

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